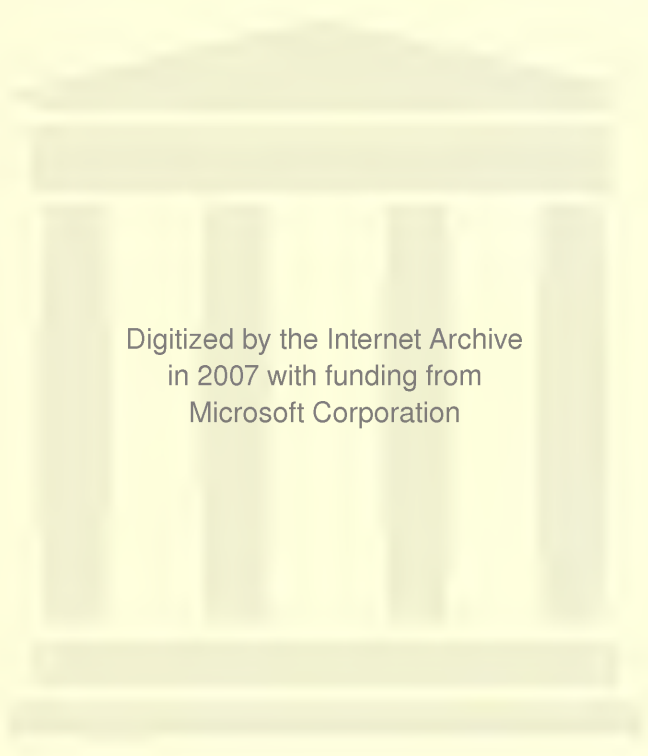






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OF THE

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Founded in 1892 as the Orkney Shetland and
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FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH

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VOL. VIII. PART II.



Erik Magnússon

*REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE VIKING SOCIETY.*

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1913.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "The Cultus of Norwegian Saints in England and Scotland" by Dr. Edvard Bull. The following members took part in the discussion: Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, Mr. F. Marsh, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. A. W. Taylor.

The Chairman moved a hearty vote of thanks to the author for his paper, and to Mr. A. W. Taylor, for reading it, which was carried unanimously. Printed on pp. 135-148.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The President gave a short account of the pre-Norse inhabitants of Orkney, Shetland and Iceland, the Norse colonisation and the conversion of the Vikings to Christianity. It is now asserted that there are a number of large cave dwellings with inscriptions in the South of Iceland, pointing to a large pre-Norse population and not merely to the few Irish priests or Papas whom the Norse found there in the 9th century. From the old forms of Norse place-names, odal tenure, etc., found in

the Orkneys, it is surmised that the settlement of these islands took place as early as 700. The Picts having been christianized as early as 565, this would give 150 years, which is ample time, to account for the numerous Pictish ecclesiastical remains in the islands. Mr. Johnston said it was his opinion that the Vikings settled down peaceably and intermarried with the Picts. This is borne out by the survival of Pictish place-names and church dedications, and the latter indicate that Christianity never entirely died out in the islands. This latter theory is also supported by the ease with which Christianity was established there in 995, in strong contrast to the great opposition offered in pagan Norway. Moreover, the cathedral of Orkney was built only some 50 years after the sword-baptism of Earl Sigurd.

The Venerable Archdeacon Craven is of the opinion that two Celtic waves of Christianity affected Orkney and Shetland, the first being a mission of St. Kentigern from the East, and the second St. Cormac's historic mission from St. Columba in the West, represented respectively by the dedications to St. Ninian and St. Columba.

The origin of Norse literature was also referred to. Up to the 12th century the laws, sagas, and Edda lays were oral traditions. Christianity with its written Scriptures and missals gave the impetus to the writing down of the laws and sagas in the 12th century. We find Earl Ronald, a poet, and Bishop Biarni, the Skald, busy at literary work in that century in conjunction with Icelandic Skalds, when possibly some of the Western Edda lays were rescued and recorded. Many of Snorri's poetic words are still used as tabu names in Shetland and nowhere else. This is highly suggestive, seeing that the islanders changed their Norse speech for English from two to three centuries ago.

Mrs. Bannon and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part in the discussion which followed.

MEETING, MARCH 14TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Professor W. P. Ker, LL.D. (Vice-President), read a paper on "Bishop Jón Arason."

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Professor Ker for his paper, which was carried unanimously. Printed on pp. 149-171.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING.

ST. MAGNUS DAY, APRIL 16TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President and Founder), in the Chair.

The Twenty-first Annual General Meeting was held at King's College, Strand, on St. Magnus Day, Wednesday, April 16th, at 8 p.m.

The Annual Report was presented to the meeting and adopted unanimously.

The officers of the Society, nominated by the Council for the ensuing year, were unanimously elected, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. Douglas C. Stedman acting as scrutineers to the ballot.

Professor Allen Mawer, M.A., read a paper on "Scandinavian Influence in English Place-names."

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Mawer for his paper.

Printed on pp. 172-210.

MEETING, MAY 23RD, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The President, Mr. A. W. Johnston, gave his Inaugural Address, "Orkney and Shetland Historical Notes."

A discussion followed in which Mr. J. S. Clouston and Mr. John Marshall took part. Printed on pp. 211-263.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 21ST, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Temple-Administration and Chieftainship in Pre-Christian Norway and Iceland," by Miss Bertha S. Phillpotts, M.A.

The Chairman, Dr. Jón Stefansson, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. F. P. Marchant, and Mr. Etchells took part in the discussion which followed. The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Phillpotts for her paper. Printed on pp. 264-284.

MEETING, DECEMBER 12TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Thyra, Wife of Gorm the Old, was she English or Danish?" by Captain Ernest Rason.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Dr. Jón Stefansson and Mr. John Marshall took part.

The Chairman moved a hearty vote of thanks to Captain Rason for his paper. It was accorded by acclamation, and the reader responded. Printed on pp. 285-301.

THE CULTUS OF NORWEGIAN SAINTS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

By DR. EDVARD BULL.

SEEING how short is the distance from the Orkneys to Scotland, and frequent as have always been, from the very beginning of historical times, communications across the Pentland Firth, it is not improbable that ecclesiastical customs would be transmitted from Scotland to the Orkneys and from the Orkneys to Scotland from the earliest times. As the mediæval sources relating to the Orkneys are rather scanty, we know very little of the first movement¹; we are, however, better informed as to the movement from the North southwards, especially in connection with the veneration of the saint, Earl Magnus of the Orkneys.

Near the chapel of Ladykirk, in South Ronaldsay, the southernmost of the Orkneys, whence there is the shortest passage to Scotland, a stone is found, four feet long and pointed at both ends. It is called the boat of St. Magnus,² and local traditions concerning it still exist. Magnus is said to have used the stone as a boat—in the same way that so many other saints have done before him—when passing the Pentland Firth, and afterwards to have carried it to Ladykirk. According to others the stone is really a petrified whale. It is in fact the very whale which carried the earl on its back from Caithness to the Orkneys, thus enabling him to fulfil his promise to build a church and dedicate it to

¹ A few disconnected remarks in the *Statuta Generalia* of the Scottish Church (pp. cxiii. 111-112, 136) are almost all.

² Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish lochs and springs*, Glasgow, 1893, pp. 72ff.—The same, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 122.

Our Lady. In later times penitent sinners used to stand barefooted on the stone.

In the northern part of Caithness, on the boundary between the parishes of Halkirk and Watten, there was a hospital consecrated to St. Magnus, and in the 19th century an annual Magnus Fair was still held at Halkirk on the Tuesday before December 26th.¹

Even in Celtic literature the worship of St. Magnus may be traced in the beautiful hymn, *A Mhànnis mo rùin*,² in which Magnus is invoked as a deity of fecundity, who is besought to be kind to the cattle and support the growth of plants and animals. In this as in nearly all other prayers in the popular language his direct help is solicited, and not only his intercession with God.

We also find such local traditions relating to St. Olave in the northern parts of Scotland. The church of Cruden in Aberdeenshire was dedicated to this saint, and was certainly very old, even if the tradition that it was built in commemoration of the defeat of the Danes ("crow-dan") at Cruden, in the year 1006, by King Malcolm, who died in 1033 or 1034, three or four years after the battle at Stiklestad, sounds highly improbable. In the parish a holy well, called St. Olave's, is to be found, of which the people sing:—

St. Olave's well low by the sea,
Where pest nor plague shall never be.

St. Olave's fair is still held at Cruden in the month of March.³

This last fact leads us to the official Scottish ecclesiastical practice in the last period of Catholicism, when the day of St. Olave was kept, strangely enough, in

¹ Mackinlay, *The pre-reformation church and Scottish place-names*, 1904, pp. 380 ff.—The day of St. Magnus was really Dec. 13th; but probably the fair is of earlier origin than the worship of the Saint.

² Henderson, *The Norse influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 35.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, III., pp. 144-49. Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish lochs, etc.*, p. 105.—The same, *The pre-reformation church, etc.*, p. 21.

the last days of March. Here there are two chief sources of information to be taken into account. The first is the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, belonging to about the same time as the breviary and missal of Nidaros. It was printed in 1509, by direction of Bishop Elphinstone,¹ with a view to delivering the Scottish Church from the overwhelming influence of the liturgy of Sarum, the use of which had been admitted for national reasons, to counter-balance the claims of York on the primacy in Scotland. There is full reason, then, to suppose that this breviary contains fairly good evidence of Scottish church practice.

The other source is a missal from the church of St. Nicolas in Aberdeen, originally printed in Rouen, in 1506, according to the missal of Salisbury, but with manuscript notes. These notes, according to Scottish investigators, bear traces of Norse influence; but otherwise the calendar in this missal is very corrupt and quite overloaded with festivals.²

According to both these calendars the day of St. Olave is to be kept on March 30th, instead of on July 29th.³ The breviary, however, lays down⁴ that if March 30th falls in Easter week or on the first Sunday after Easter, the celebration is to be put off till after that

¹ Reprinted London, 1854, in two vols. (*Pars hyemalis* and *Pars estiva*). The notes concerning Olave are printed also by Metcalfe, *Passio et Miracula beati Olavi*, pp. 117ff. (see also pp. 33ff.)

² Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. 33 (1898-99), pp. 440-60.

³ 31st, according to *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Edinburgh, 1845, II., p. 7.

⁴ The print by Metcalfe, *Passio*, etc., p. 33, of these regulations is very inaccurate; the text of *Brev. Aberd.* (March 30th): *Si hoc festum sancti olaui vel festum sancti reguli infra passionem domini vel in ebdoma pasche aut in dominica oct. eiusdem contigerit nichil fiet de ipsis usque post octa. pasche et ibi tunc vbi conueniencius possunt celebrari: de ipsis fiat seruicium cum tribus lectionibus istius temporis. Sed cum R. iis et v. paschalis temporis. Et ita faciendum est de omnibus aliis festis simplicibus ix. lectionum infra dictum tempus contingenti. Ad matuti. ix. lec. fiant.*—See also *Brev. Aberd.* July 29th.

Sunday, and the day is then to be observed with two lessons only. The nine lessons which otherwise belong to the day of St. Olave, in these years, are to be read on July 29th, upon which day only a memorial of St. Olave is, as a rule, read. I am not able to explain this curious feature in the Aberdeen calendar. It is perhaps to be supposed that the March fair at Cruden is old, and that later it took its name from the saint of the parish church, and that then the festival from Cruden spread either over the whole diocese of Aberdeen, or perhaps only to the town of Aberdeen, not many miles away.

That the day of St. Magnus is celebrated as a higher feast than that of St. Olave (as *festum duplex*), is quite natural. So is it that not only the festival of his translation, December 13th,² but partly also the day of his death, April 16th, is observed as *inferius duplex*, and that the breviary of Aberdeen contains rather long hymns in his honour, while in the case of Olave only a very short legend is appointed. The worship of these two saints in the northern parts of Scotland has, of course, come from the Orkneys, where Magnus must have been much more popular than Olave.³

The cult of the two Norse saints, which we find in England, is of quite a different character. Here we find Olave more prominent, and Magnus seems a more or less casual attendant on his great compatriot. His worship is, however, not altogether without interest. In southern Scotland St. Magnus is not worshipped, and of the three churches dedicated to him in England, two belong to the southern parts of the country, Lon-

¹ To this worship of St. Olave in Northern Scotland belongs also the altar dedicated to him in S. Salvator's College, St. Andrews (Metcalfe).

² 12th, in the missal of St. Nicolas; 14th, in *Liber Ecclesiæ Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott* (ed. A. P. Forbes, Edinburgh, 1872).

³ Daae, *Norges helgener*, p. 206, says that the nephew of Magnus, the Saint Earl Ragnvald, too, was worshipped in Scotland, but without giving any evidence.

don and Dorsetshire, and only one is situated in the North at Bessingby, in Yorkshire (East Riding).¹ Sea-communication of any importance between the Orkneys and England in the 12th century is not to be thought of, and a direct connexion with the North does not seem very probable, as the worship of Magnus is not to be traced in southern Scotland or northern England. There can therefore scarcely be any doubt but that this worship reached England from Norway, and that owing to the lively traffic between the two countries not only has Norway been influenced from England, but also England from Norway. That this last was the case in the Viking Period has always been acknowledged; but as Magnus was not regarded as a saint in the Orkneys before the year 1135, his worship cannot have been brought from Norway to England earlier than in the second half of the twelfth century.²

This influence surely issued from the western parts of Norway. Magnus, of course,—like the other saints of the Norwegian church—had his altar in the cathedral of Trondhjem; but all other traces of his worship in Norway, that can be localized, belong to the West. Generally speaking, the Norwegian Church only observe the day of his death (April 6th); but some few letters from Voss prove that here, not far from Bergen, the day of his translation (December 13th, generally called St. Lucia's Day), was also kept.³ In the church of Urnes in Sogn is a runic inscription which contains the name of St. Magnus; and in addition to this Professor Magnus Olsen, who has deciphered the inscription, mentions evidence of active communication

¹ Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in church dedications*, London, 1899, II., pp. 455-60. Miss Forster has no doubt that these churches really concern the Saint-Earl from the Orkneys, and not some of the other saints with the name of Magnus; but she gives no evidence, and I have not been able to verify it.

² But on the other hand, not much later; the Magnus church existed already in 1203 (Metcalfe, l.c., p. 119).

³ *Historisk Tidsskrift*, III., Series II., p. 103.

between the Orkneys and Sogn in the Middle Ages.¹ It was from these parts probably that the worship of Magnus reached England in the 12th century.

How long the earl of the Orkneys was venerated in England cannot accurately be told; but possibly his cult continued until the Reformation. Henry Machyn, citizen of London, who has left an elaborate and very interesting diary for the years 1550-63, relates that in 1559, on September 16th, there were burnt at the corner of Pye-street pictures of Christ on the cross, Mary, John and St. Magnus; and there is no reason why this should have been any other than the Norse earl, who had his church in London, near London Bridge.

A much more prominent part, however, is played in England by St. Olave. He was popular as well in Anglo-Saxon times as after the Norman conquest. At least fifteen churches dedicated to him are known in England.

The oldest evidence on this subject seems to be the story that the well-known Earl Siward of Northumbria (1055) in the time of Edward the Confessor, built an Olave's church at York, where he was himself buried; but already in the year 1098, King William Rufus gave this church to St. Mary's abbey,² and only a little parish church in the neighbourhood (Marygate) has kept the name of the Norwegian saint. Probably also the son of Siward, Earl Wealhtheow, had inherited his father's love of St. Olave. During the turbulent times after the Norman Conquest he frequently resided in Lincolnshire, where he presented Crowland Abbey with large donations.⁴ Perhaps it is from this

¹Aarsberetning fra foreningen til fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring, 1907, pp. 135ff, 160.

²Diary of Henry Machyn, citizen of London, ed. J. G. Nichols, London, 1848, p. 209.

³Arnold-Forster, Church Dedications, II., pp. 451ff.

⁴Monasticon Anglicanum (ed. 1846), III., p. 546.

⁵Worsaae, Minder om danske og norske i England, p. 169-74.

period that the stone statue on Crowland Bridge dates. It represents a man with a huge loaf or cake, and local tradition has supposed it to be St. Olave, whose name has been transformed to *Holofius*, and by way of popular imagination connected with the word *loaf*.¹

From Anglo-Saxon times also dates the votive mass in honour of St. Olave, which is prescribed in *The Red Book of Derby*, a manuscript from the diocese of Winchester, which was written about the year 1061. In this manuscript not only is Olave the latest saint recognised, but the only one who is not English.²

Finally, St. Olave's church at Exeter is earlier than 1066.³

It is possible that the Norman Conquest brought about a reaction against the worship of the Norwegian saint, but in no case can this have been of long duration. The communications with Norway, recorded in the time of Henry I.,⁴ grew more and more frequent, and must have kept green the memory of St. Olave.

Characteristic of the prominent part played by St. Olave in the ideas Englishmen had of Scandinavia, and how they considered him the real centre of all the Scandinavian North, is the tale of the death of Swein Forkbeard in Maistre Geffrei Gaimar's poem *L'estorie des Engles* (written between 1135 and 1147).⁵

At York was he buried :
But then after ten years or more
The Danes took up his bones ;
They were carried to Norway,
To Saint Olaf, there were they laid.
In St. Peter's minster he lay
When the Danes took him away.

¹ J. Gunn, Illustrations of the Rod-screen at Barton-Turf, Norwich, 1869.—Kunst og Kultur, II. (1911), pp. 50 ff.

² The Leofric Missal, ed. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883, p. 244.—Historisk Tidsskrift, 3rd Series, IV., p. 357-69.

³ Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, 5th Series, I., p. 563, notes.

⁴ Diplomatarium Norvegicum, XIX., nr. 32.

⁵ Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (vv. 4162-69).

After the conquest of Ireland, under Henry II., an Olave's abbey was founded in Dublin from Bristol, and it continued (till it was abolished by Henry VIII.) to keep up its connection with the convent of Augustinian monks at Bristol.¹

As late as in the beginning of the 13th century we are told that a monastery was founded in the honour of St. Olave at Herringfleet, on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk.² Although it is expressly said to have been founded by Roger Fitz Osbert shortly after 1216, English writers have considered this impossible. They have been of the opinion that all English churches and monasteries in honour of St. Olave—of which by far the greater part cannot be dated—must go back to Anglo-Saxon times, when the Norsemen still formed a separate class within the English people. And they have supported their theory by referring to the fact that all Olave's churches in England—with but one exception—were situated near the sea, where consequently the Vikings and their descendants might have had ready access. Accordingly it has been maintained that the monastery of Herringfleet cannot have been founded for the first time in 1216, but was only rebuilt and enlarged at that time.

Of this older foundation, however, nothing is known at all, and no remains have been found in spite of careful excavations, undertaken by the present proprietor of the ruins.³ Moreover, it seems quite superfluous in this way to contest the express words of the text. If an abbey in honour of St. Olave can have been founded in Dublin at the end of the 12th century, and if the worship of St. Magnus can have been introduced into

¹ J. P. Rushe, *A Second Thebaid*, Dublin and London, 1905, p. 59. —J. T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 1854, I., pp. 48ff. —Bits of the garments of Olave were preserved, already from the 11th century, in the Trinity-abbey of Dublin (Daae, *Norges helgener*, p. 57).

² *The Victoria History of Suffolk*, London, 1907, II., p. 100.

³ *Kunst og Kultur*, II. (1911), pp. 49ff.

England about the same time, it is not at all impossible that a monastery in honour of St. Olave may have been founded in the beginning of the 13th century.

From this same period date also two manuscripts giving evidence of Norse influence on the English Church. The first belonged to Fountains Abbey near York, and is a copy of the work composed by Archbishop Eystein of Trondhjem, *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*.¹ The other is a psalter, originally written for the use of King Henry III., but with some calendar additions, evidently from the 13th century, including the following: 16th of April, *Magni ducis m.*; 15th of May, *Sancti Halluardi martyris*; 8th of July, *Sanctorum in selio*; 29th of July, *Olavi regis et martiris*.²

These facts seem to be of no slight importance, as showing that Norse influence in England was not restricted to Anglo-Saxon times, but continued in the 12th and 13th century, at a time when the Norwegians who visited England were no longer Vikings, but only more or less peaceful merchants, tradesmen and clerics.

By far the greater number of the churches dedicated to St. Olave were situated in large towns; at least four in London, two at Norwich,³ one at Chester, one at Exeter, one at Chichester; and most of the village churches were situated near the sea—Ruckland in Lincolnshire, Creeting in Suffolk, Gatcombe in the Isle of Wight, and Poughill near Bude in North Cornwall.⁴

The age of these churches cannot be established; but the theory of Miss Arnold-Forster that most of them go back to the time when the Danes ruled in England, seems to me highly improbable. We have no evidence

¹ Edited by Metcalfe, Oxford, 1881.

² Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, 8th Series, III., p. 232, note.

³ Blomefield, Hist. of Norfolk (ed. 1806), IV., 2, pp. 65 and 475. An Olave's-guild is mentioned at one of these churches in 1501.

⁴ All these dedications are to be found in the book of Miss Arnold-Forster (II., pp. 751ff), which, however, is to be used with some circumspection.

at all that the Danes spread the worship of St. Olave outside their own country, and we do not even know that Olave was regarded as a saint in Denmark itself, before the death of Harthacnut (1042). The oldest evidence of the worship of St. Olave in England belongs, as we have already mentioned, to the fifties and sixties of the 11th century, and some of these churches may have been founded in these years,¹ but scarcely all, or even the majority. The twenty-four years' reign of Edward the Confessor seems too short to include the foundation of four churches in London, dedicated to St. Olave. And as to the sea communications between Norway and England, we do not know much about them in the 11th century, but everything goes to show that the reign of Magnus the Good (1035-47) and of Harald Hardrada (1047-66) was not the time when they flourished most. Finally it may be mentioned that no one of these churches as it now stands is older than the Norman conquest, while at least one of them, Fritwell in Oxfordshire, is built in early Norman style. In short, the period when the worship of St. Olave spread most rapidly in England seems to have been the first 150 years or so after the Conquest. And in all this time it seems to have spread by direct influence from Norway, and not from one or more centres originating in England itself.

A few such centres, however, existed, and transmitted the worship of St. Olave not so much to other places as to later times. First of all, London must be mentioned, where, as late as the last century, there were founded two suburban churches bearing the name of St. Olave.² In the Ghetto of London, Old Jewry, near

¹ If Snorri is to be relied upon, there was an Olave's church in London in the reign of Harald Hardrada (1047-66). (The saga of H. H., ch. 57).

² At Stoke Newington and at Mile End, East London. The last one got its name because it was built from funds belonging to the old church in Hart Street.

Cheapside, was situated one Olave's church, mentioned for the first time in the reign of Edward the First,¹ and in the City itself also were to be found churches dedicated to this saint in Hart Street and in Silver Street. Just outside the City, in Southwark, at the end of London Bridge, is the still existing Olave's church in Tooley Street.² At the other end of London Bridge there stands a church dedicated to St. Magnus, and thus the very centre of the traffic in old London was flanked by churches dedicated to Norwegian saints.

To the church in Silver Street is attached a tale from the last period of Catholicism, which is often quoted in England.

When Queen Mary resuscitated Catholicism in England, she also desired to revive the old Catholic festivals, customs, miracle plays, etc., and of this also St. Olave had his share. For on the 29th of July, 1557, the above-mentioned Henry Machyn says in his diary: "On the same 29th July, being S. Olave's Day, was the Church Holy Day in Silver Street, the Parish Church whereof was dedicated to that Saint. And at Eight of the Clock at Night began a Stage-Play of goodly Matter [relating, 'tis like, to that Saint]."³

To these London churches finally is to be added one at Queenhithe, on the west side of Bread Street Hill, which is mentioned in the *Liber Custumarum* in the reign of Edward I., but which was very early united with a Nicholas Church in the neighbourhood, and a chantry in St. Paul's Cathedral, whose age we do not know, but which was in the year 1391 incorporated

¹ *Liber custumarum*, ed. Riley, p. 230.

² Tooley is the common English corruption of "St. Olave," as Tullock (Toolog) is the Irish one.

³ Strype, *Historical Memorials, Ecclesiastical and Civil*. London, 1721. Fol., Vol. III., p. 379. The diary of H.M. as we know it has several lacunas just for these days; but at the time of Strype it was still complete, and has been utilised by him. The words in [] were probably added by Strype.

into the general property of the church because of its smallness.¹

The other centre for the worship of St. Olave in England is the district on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk. We have already mentioned the two churches at Norwich, the church at Creeting and—the most important—the Augustinian priory at Herringfleet. The coast-line has here, in the flat land, with its numerous streams of water, changed much in the course of time. The ruins of the old priory are now situated about five English miles from the sea, but close by a river whose valley gives an easy passage to Norwich. In former times, when the water-courses were larger and the ships smaller, the navigation over the Norfolk Broads to Norwich presented no difficulty; the fleet of Swein Forkbeard is said to have passed Herringfleet on its way to this town; and by the old ferry as well as later on over St. Olave's Bridge, there must have been important traffic. Still in our own time St. Olave's railway-junction marks this natural topographic turning-point.

It therefore surely was a lucrative piece of business when the prior in 1226 got a royal license to hold an annual fair on the day of St. Olave.² The priory seems to have been prosperous for a long time; some parts of the ruins are built in the Tudor style; consequently, the priory still towards the end of mediæval times had enough funds to construct rather important new buildings.

Not far away (only 16 English miles), on the highest point in the neighbourhood, is situated the church of Barton Turf, dedicated to St. Michael. On a side-screen in this church there is to be found a painting from the 15th century, representing four saint-kings—

¹ *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, pp. 230, 233, 235.—*Metcalfe, Passio*, p. 34.—*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Richard II., Vol. IV.*, p. 421.

² *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, London, 1844, II., p. 165.

St. Edmund, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Holofius and King Henry VI. This last died in 1471, and Henry VII. later on tried to have him canonized by the Pope. Alexander VI. was not altogether unwilling, but finally it came to nothing. The picture of Henry VI. as a saint therefore must certainly date from the last years of the 15th century. The other kings seem to be about 50 years older.¹ It is curious evidence of the prominent part held by Olave in England, that as late as the 15th century he is the foreigner people would naturally represent together with the royal saints of the country itself.

King's Lynn, on the Wash, is the English port which, in the 13th and 14th century, had the greatest traffic with Norwegian ships. We do not know if there was an Olave's church here; but at least we hear of a place in the town called "St. Olave's fleet."² The Icelandic Saint, Thorlak, accomplished a wonderful miracle here about the year 1200.³

Also it is probable that St. Olave was worshipped at Grimsby, although nothing is known about it from written sources. Only last summer there was found on the west coast of Norway a seal, from the first half of the 14th century, bearing the legend "*Sigillum Monasterii S. Augustini de Grimesbi*," and representing a saint king with an axe, who cannot very well be any other than Olave.⁴

The only church in England dedicated to St. Olave and not situated near the sea, is Fritwell in Oxfordshire.⁵ It was built in the 12th century; but here, of

¹ F. Gunn, *Illustrations of the Rood-screen at Barton-Turf, Norwich*, 1869.—*Kunst og Kultur*, 1911, p. 50.

² *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XIX., 462.

³ *Biskupa Sögur*, I., p. 357. ("Kynn" is certainly a mis-script for Lynn).

⁴ Now kept in the Public Record Office (Riksarkivet), Kristiania.

⁵ North Oxfordshire Archæological Society, *Publications* 1882 and 1903. The only trace of Norse influence in the neighbourhood is a manor at Barford St. Michael, some miles farther west, also bearing the name of St. Olave.

course, the worship may be older and date from before the Conquest. It is not easy to understand how Norse influence could reach Fritwell so late as the 12th century.

In this little out-of-the-way village the worship of St. Olave has continued with incredible tenacity. In the old parochial register for November 20th, 1720, is found, among collections for the poor of the parish itself, a collection "upon St. Olave's church near York," which gave a result of 2s. 6d. And still in our own time the day of St. Olave is observed in the parish as a great festival. The priest, dressed in a surplice with an embroidered—modern—image of St. Olave, and the parishioners walk in procession round the church; and the sermon of the day treats of the Norwegian saint. This custom is not—as is the case, for instance, at Herringfleet—newly introduced by people with literary education, but is genuinely old. This is proved, if there be any doubt, by the fact that the festival is held on the first Sunday after August 8th, not on the proper day of St. Olave, July 29th; when the Gregorian calendar was introduced in England (1752), the conservative peasants of Fritwell would not submit to this alteration of the almanac, and kept the old day for the festival, even if it got a new name, August 8th instead of July 29th.

This sketch of the worship of Norwegian saints in England can probably be supplemented. What we have set forth already will, however, suffice to show that in the matter of the relations between Norway and England it was not Norway alone which was the receiver during the 12th and 13th centuries, any more than it had been during the 9th and 10th centuries.

JÓN ARASON.

BY PROFESSOR W. P. KER, *Vice-President.*

THE glory of Iceland is lost at the death of Sturla the historian. This was not the very end of the great Icelandic work of prose history in the mother tongue, but the old spirit is gone; the true imaginative rendering of Icelandic and Norwegian life, the art of Snorri and Sturla, disappears at the union of Iceland and Norway. The decadence of Iceland is manifest in the failure of the great historic school; the decadence of Norway also, when there were no more lives of kings written by Icelanders in the common language.

But the dull times of Iceland, after the 13th century, ought not to be made out worse than they really were. Iceland ran through its good seasons and its fortune; but it never lost its distinctive character. It lost much; but it kept that pride and self-respect which is proved in the history of the language, and which saved Iceland from the fate of Norway, the degradation and disuse of the native tongue. Historians sometimes speak as if the condition of Norway and Iceland through the bad centuries were much the same. No doubt there is a great resemblance. Both countries are altered for the worse through their relations with Denmark; both turn into dependencies. But even though Iceland often received harder treatment than Norway, as happened under the tyranny of the Danish trade, Iceland never gave way in spirit as Norway did. The Icelanders kept their language and their art of poetry. They were saved by their good grammar from the Norwegian lethargy. They maintained their self-consciousness over against the rest of the world; a small community, not as large as Athens or Hampstead. Through the

vicissitudes of a thousand years the Icelanders have not changed their minds with regard to the use of their minds; at any rate they have continued to believe that they were meant to live as intelligent beings. Also, from the conditions of their land and society, as well as from their own native disposition, they pay more attention to individual men than is common in other countries. This habit of thought, which is the source of the great historical art of Iceland, is not lost when the historical school is closed. The history of the Reformation in Iceland, and the life of Jón Arason, Bishop of Hólar, may show how little the essentials have changed in three hundred years from the time of the Sturlungs. It is true that the life of Bishop Jón is not written out full and fair like the life of Bishop Gudmund, three hundred years before. But the scattered notes and memoirs from which the story can be put together were made by Icelanders who had the same tastes, though not the same ability, as the earlier historians. Snorri and Sturla must have worked with similar notes, in preparation for their finished work. The records of the time of Jón Arason show that there was the same sort of interest in character and adventures as there was when the Sturlung memoirs were composed.

The history of the Reformation in Iceland is a drama of persons more than in other countries. The persons, it is true, cannot be compared for dignity, and hardly for richness of humour, with the principal authors and adversaries of the Reformation, with Luther or Knox, Henry VIII., or the Emperor Charles. But in Iceland, unlike the rest of Christendom, there is very little to be told that is not obviously dramatic; the dramatic, the personal values, are not obscured by general impersonal forces and movements; the stage is compact and comprehensible. With earlier affairs in Iceland, with the matter of the Sagas, it is often amusing and surprising to find how readily historical events seem to fall into

their place like things in a novel. One gets the same impression in the history of Jón Arason, even although the action was never fully represented in the old Icelandic narrative way. The chief situations are intelligible and clear, just as they might be in a novel or a comedy. If one could imagine a chronicle of Barse, with the Reformation for its substance, instead of, *e.g.*, the problem of Hiram's Hospital, one might get something like the Icelandic scale and mode as observed in the life of Bishop Jón of Hólar. It is tempting, though irrelevant, to consider how the Barchester characters might have displayed themselves if they had been transported to the Icelandic scene; to think of Dean Arabin drawn into a raiding expedition by Archdeacon Grantly, against his better judgment, yet not unwilling; of Mrs. Proudie talking manfully and evangelically to the invaders, while Mark Robarts and Bertie Stanhope were packing up the Bishop to carry him away. How the Slopes and Thumbles would have behaved there is no need to imagine, for the Icelandic record has preserved their ancestors undecayed and unmistakable. One of them did his best to edify Jón Arason on the way to the headsman's block.

"When Bishop Jón was led out, there was a certain priest, Sir Svein, appointed to speak to him persuasively. The Bishop, as he came forth from the choir, sought to do obeisance before an image of Mary; but the priest bade him lay aside that superstition, and said (among other comforting words): 'There is a life after this life, my lord!' But Bishop Jón turned sharply and said, 'I know that, Sveinki!'" (*Biskupa Sögur*, ii., p. 353.)

Political novels and plays are apt to fail through overweight of political argument, or else, at the opposite extreme, because they make things too obviously superficial, too simple and easy. In Björnson's political plays the questions often seem too trivial, the politicians not really dangerous. In Icelandic history the casual

reader may often think that the interests are trifling, the values unduly heightened by chroniclers who do not know the world. The documents often confirm this view. There are extant from Jón Arason's time claims for damages suffered in certain raids which take up a considerable space in Icelandic history; a householder feels the loss, among other things, of a pepper-mill and a mustard-mill, and that is recorded. The great men, prelates and chiefs of Iceland, may seem on examination very much like the common people of the English border. "There are a thousand such elsewhere" in Liddesdale, Redesdale, and the Debatable Land. Kinmont Willie and the Laird's Wat might have been princes in Iceland. The great men of Iceland, are they not great through the emptiness of the region round them, the simplicity and inexperience of their countrymen? So one is tempted to ask, and this sort of scepticism and depreciation leads of course to such ignoring of Iceland as is shown in the histories of Europe generally.¹

This low opinion may be contradicted and proved unreasonable. Do not casual readers speak of the history of Attica in much the same way and with not much more consideration?² But it cannot be denied that the material weight of Iceland is small, that the greatest men are not rich men, that the interests are to all appearance domestic or parochial when compared with the fortunes of larger states.

There are at least two modes of defence in answer to this. Material interests may be unimportant where a principle or idea is at work. Thus, returning to Barchester, we observe that the historian Trollope, in *The Warden*, has made the case of Hiram's Hospital into a parable or

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x. index, "Iceland, constitution for, 694": text p. 694, "Iceland received a Constitution."

² It is a pleasure here to remember Sir George Trevelyan's translation of Thucydides into the terms of Stirlingshire and Clackmannan,

allegory containing the whole of politics and the quintessence of public opinion. The argument of *The Warden* does not require a larger scale or a higher stake, any more than Euclid would be helped if you offered him triangles of gold and silver. There is sometimes this kind of moral in Icelandic history. Indeed, this seems to be the peculiar office of Iceland among other nations. Iceland, again and again, is found to resemble an experimental table arranged by Destiny to work out certain political problems neatly, with not too many pieces in the game. So Iceland has been made to declare the true nature of early German civilisation; so the life of Bishop Gudmund is a dramatic conflict of High Church zeal with steady respectable worldly tradition, and represents in a personal story the contemporary life of Christendom. So in the life of Jón Arason the Reformation is exhibited as a dramatic opposition of characters.

But, taking the second mode of answer to those who depreciate and ignore, we may observe that the history of Iceland is not purely ideal or exemplary; it is itself part of the history of Europe and contributes its own share of reality to the actual world. The life of Jón Arason may illustrate the course of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway, but it is also different from anything in those countries, and has much in it that was lacking there—particularly some fortitude in opposition to the new doctrines and their advocates. The value of Jón Arason is not merely that his story brings out some common humanities and some common fashions of the time; he is part of the life of Christendom as far as Allhallowtide of the year 1550, and what he does is done by no one else in Iceland, Norway, or Denmark.

The Church in Iceland was not very well taken care of in the 15th century. The Bishops were mostly foreigners; of many of them, including at least one Englishman, very little is known. One Bishop of Skalholt, described as Confessor of the King of

Denmark, discovered that there was nothing to drink in Iceland except milk and water; therefore he made provision and obtained from Henry VI. of England a licence for two ship-captains to sail to Iceland with supplies. Before him in the same diocese there was a tyrannical Swedish bishop who had thirty unruly Irishmen in his retinue; he was at last (in accordance with the popular will) tied up in a sack and drowned in Brúará. Which, however, was not the last of him, for in the very familiar manner of ghosts in Iceland, he "came again" (of course as a solid body), and gave some trouble before he would lie quiet (1433).

It would have been a great misfortune for Iceland if the Reformation had come when there were no better Churchmen in the cathedrals than this Swedish bishop or the Danish royal chaplain who was so careful about his beer. But, as it fell out, the great debate was not left to be determined in Iceland by wholly external powers, by Luther or the King of Denmark. Some Icelanders very early began to think for themselves in a Lutheran way; and on the other side was Jón Arason.

It is one of the fortunate things and one of the strange things in Icelandic history that at the time of the Reformation the bishop in the north was one of the greatest men of the time, and a man who recalled the greatness of the old days. Jón Arason, Bishop of Hólar, was not like his predecessor, Bishop Gudmund, a great churchman with a consistent theory of the relations between church and laity. But he was a churchman of another old Icelandic sort, a great chieftain, a married man with a family, fond of power and wealth and glory, very closely resembling the great men of the Sturlung age. It was as if Kolbein Tumason or Sturla Sighvatsson had come back to life in Holy Orders. And this great man was not simply a worldly potentate with the dignity of a bishop; he was the chief poet of his time, and his poems were religious. He does not represent any theory of the relations

between Church and State: he is not the successor of Thomas à Becket, or of St. Thorlac. But he represents better than anyone else the church of Iceland as it was for centuries from the time of the first conversion—the rather easy-going but wholesome religion which in so many ways resembles the Church of England.

Jón Arason's poetry cannot be explained except to those who understand it already. Like all Icelandic poetry, its beauty is largely a beauty of form, and of the form it may be said that Jón Arason is a master of rhyming stanzas, apparently without much or any suggestion from foreign literature. He worked on the principles of Icelandic rhyming poetry, derived from the Latin rhyming poetry of the Middle Ages, and used those principles so as to make very beautiful stanzas in which the artifice is not so great as to hinder the freedom of expression. One of his poems has had a strange fortune. It was very early taken up by the Faroese, and was used by them at sea for the good of their fishery—"whale-verse" being a popular name for it.¹

¹ The Faroese version was edited in *Aarb. Oldk.*, 1869, pp. 311-338, by R. Jensen.

The first stanza is the proper 'hvalvers,' and the note on it is as follows:—

"This is what Lyngby quotes in the appendix to his Faroese ballads, the so-called 'whale-verse,' the only fragment of the poem which can be said to be generally known. The name comes from the belief that the singing of it had power to drive away the large whales, if there was danger from them to fishing-boats at sea (hvis man kom i hvalnøð ude paa havet").

Miss Elizabeth Taylor, who has a close acquaintance with life in the Faroes, points out that the virtue of the "whale-verse" comes from a popular rendering of *kvölum* (= pains of hell) as *hvölum* (= whales; pronounced in the same way as the other word). The "whale-verse" is thus given, *loc. cit.*—*Ljómur Biskups Jóns Arasonar*.

Hægstur heilagur andi
himna kongurinn sterki
lovliga lít tu á meg,
signauðr á sjogv og landi
sannur í vilja og verki
hoyr tú, eg heiti á teg!
Forða tú mær fjandans pínu og díki,
feikna kvölum öllum frá mær víki,
mær veit tú tað, Mariu sonurin ríki,
mæla eg kundi nakað, svá tær líki!

The Reformation was established in Denmark by King Christian III., in his ordinance of 1538, which prescribed everything to the kingdom and the church, the King being himself the head. The name of "bishop" was disused, though the office was kept. Under the ordinance the king appointed "superintendents" for the various dioceses. These "superintendents" are the Protestant Lutheran bishops, and it may be observed that Bishop Gizur, the Protestant bishop of Skalholt, calls himself "superintendens," though in Iceland the authority and name of "bishop" were too respectable to be supplanted by this new government description.

The ordinance was imposed without difficulty in Denmark: the King was thinking of Denmark, and not particularly of Norway or Iceland, when the ordinance was granted. But Christian III. of Denmark held himself to be King of Norway also. There was some resistance to him, both to his title and his policy there; Norway, however, had no real strength, and it is here that the difference in spirit between Norway and Iceland comes out most clearly. To the Catholic Archbishop, Olaf Engelbrektsson, in Norway, the Reformation was loathsome, and there seems to have been little regard for it among the people. But there was just as little effective liking for the old church, and the Archbishop of Nidaros could make no party of his own out of the Catholics of Norway. He had to leave the country, unheroically though not dishonourably (April, 1537), and the kingdom of Norway accepted the ordinance, keeping all its sympathies still for the old faith, and taking no interest in the teaching of Luther.

The Lutheran ordinance of King Christian III. was imposed on Iceland also. It cannot be said that the people of Iceland showed themselves much more awake than the people of Norway to the meaning of the change, but there is a great difference between the two countries. Iceland being a small country as compared

with Norway is much more easily affected by the talent of any one of its members. New ideas run more easily over the land, and it happened that in Iceland both sides were much better represented than in Norway. The Protestant Reformation in Iceland was not merely a Lutheran ordinance imposed by a king. Although there was much dissatisfaction with the change, it cannot be said that the Reformation in Iceland was carried through without the general consent of the people. Icelandic history brings out very clearly the same unpleasant interests, particularly the appetite for church lands, as may be found in the history of the Reformation in other countries. But there was also very early a movement for the translation of the Scriptures, and afterwards the honour of the Reformation was maintained in Iceland by the great translator, Bishop Gudbrand.

Jón Arason was born in 1484; little is told of his early life. His father died, and Jón acted as steward for his mother at Laugaland (near Akreyri) till he was 24. Then he took Holy Orders, and shortly afterwards was married in some form or other to his wife Helga: a contract recognised by Icelandic tradition, and not apparently at any time challenged on any ground either by Catholics or Protestants. He made two voyages to Norway for Bishop Gottskalk of Hólar, and after the death of Gottskalk (1520) was elected bishop himself (1522) by all the priests with one dissident.

At that time Bishop Ogmund, of Skalholt, had just been consecrated, a man in some things resembling Jón Arason, and very well fitted to be his rival or his friend. At first he was a decided enemy. It is curious how just before the Reformation—the “change of fashion” (*siðaskipti*), as it is called in Icelandic—there should have been, after so many foreign bishops, a return to the old natural conditions, with two men in the two cathedrals so thoroughly like their ancestors. Ogmund was a tall stout gentleman, with a remarkable talent for

strong language and little regard for his personal appearance, though much for his episcopal dignity and power. He was indeed a chieftain of the old school like Jón Arason, but without his wit and poetry. He tried at first to keep Jón Arason out of the bishopric of Hólar; he and Jón met once in the old fashion at the Althing, each with his tail of fighting men, and there was likelihood of a battle. But peace was made by the intervention of the Abbots and other clergy, and there was no more trouble of that kind.¹

The contention between the Bishops is told with some detail, and evidently with much enjoyment of the old fashioned tricks and stratagems. In that respect there was little change after five centuries.

Generally the two Bishops behaved like heroes of the older Sagas, and made their fortunes in the old way—by authority, maintenance, ingenious use of the law. There is material for the history of a law case in which Jón was concerned;² the facts resemble those of the Sturlung time. He thinks of his sons in the same way as Sighvat Sturluson might; the true meaning of heredity is proved when his son Ari is made Lawman. At the same time (in this also like the Sturlung house) he attends to the liberal arts; to his own poetry especially. He had no reputation for scholarship; it was a common belief that he knew no Latin. The Reformation, it should be remembered, encouraged the growth of classical learning in Iceland; the standard was raised after Bishop Jón's time. An interesting document is the Latin account of him written by a Protestant about 1600, pitying Jón for the want of proper Latin education in his youth. *Adeo miserum est infelici tempore natum esse*. This author recognises very fully the native genius of Jón Arason and his accomplishment in Icelandic verse.

¹ Jón Egilson has a curious story of a wager of battle in the old place—the island in Oxará—between champions of the Bishops. See Dict. s.v. *hólmanga*.

² Biskupa Sögur, ii., p. 430 sqq.

It is not quite easy to make out the extent of his learning. He was undoubtedly fond of books, and the first printer in Iceland, Síra Jón Matthiasson the Swede, worked under his patronage.¹ The Reformers did much for the encouragement of study, but they had not to begin at the very beginning.

Jón Arason does not appear very definitely in the earlier stages of the Reformation in Iceland.

The Reformation touched the southern diocese first; the south was more exposed to innovation, as the Danish government house was at Bessastad; and Bishop Ogmund of Skalholt had to meet the impinging forces alone. His tragedy is represented with some liveliness in the extant narratives.

The time is 1539-1541; the chief personages are Bishop Ogmund; his Protestant successor Gizur Einarsson; Didrik van Minden, a man from Hamburg, deputy of the Governor Claus van Marwitz; Christopher Hvitfeldt, a Danish commissioner with a ship of war. The chief witnesses, besides original letters and other documents, are Síra Einar, a priest who was faithful to the Bishop, and his son Egil, then about 17 years old. Egil was alive, aged 70, in 1593, when one of the narratives was written (Bs. ii. 237-259). Another is the work of his son Jón, parson at Hrepphólar in Arnes-sýsla about 1600.²

Bishop Ogmund was old and blind when the "change of manners" befel. He was riding with his attendants one sunny day when his sight went from him. He asked and was told that the sun was shining bright; then he said: "Farewell, world! long enough hast thou served me!"

He had to find an assistant and successor; first he chose his sister's son Sigmund, but Sigmund died in

¹ Biskupa Sögur, ii., p. 440 sqq.

² Biskupa Annálar Jóns Egilssonar, edited by Jón Sigurdsson in *Safn til Sögu Íslands*, i., 29-117.

Norway not twenty days after his consecration (1537).¹

Then Bishop Ogmund, with the assent of the clergy, chose Gizur Einarsson to succeed him. This was the first Protestant Bishop in Iceland, and if he was not an absolute sneak, the witnesses (including himself) have done him great wrong. Bishop Ogmund was his patron from very early days, and Gizur made good use of his opportunities. He was a very able man, and the Bishop was right in thinking so. It is hard to discover how much the Bishop knew about Gizur's Protestant sympathies. There is no reason to doubt that Gizur was an earnest reformer. Like other men of the time, he had unpleasant ways of mixing his own profit with evangelical religion, but he seems to have obtained his religious principles through study, and not in a casual or superficial manner. He was associated with Odd Gottskalksson, the translator, and with other young Icelandic students who came under the influence of Luther.

In 1539 Gizur sailed for Denmark as Bishop-elect of Skalholt; and that same year the Reformation displayed itself in a Danish attack on the island of Videy at Reykjavík, and in spoliation of the monastery there. The agent in this was Didrik van Minden; fourteen men in an eight-oared boat were enough for the business. It seems a paltry thing, but, as usual, one must remember the Icelandic scale; the ruin of Videy was no less for Iceland than the ruin of the Charterhouse was for London. In Iceland the retribution was not slow. At the Althing, a few weeks later, all the Danes who had attacked the cloister were outlawed and their

¹ Bs. ii. p. 269. Sigmund's daughter Katrín was wife of Egil above-mentioned, and mother of Sira Jón who wrote the Bishops' Annals. She was a child of nine, staying with her grandmother at Hjalli when her grand-uncle, Bishop Ogmund, was arrested by the Danes in 1541. She was keeping the Bishop's feet warm that morning, and saw what happened. Cf. Jón Egilsson, p. 73. Hinir . . . komu til Hjalla fyrir dagmál, og tóku þar biskupinn í baðstofunni; móðir mín lá á fótum hans og var niu vetra; þeir leiddu hann út, &c.

lives forfeited. The Danes made very little of the Althing and its sentence, but here they were wrong. In August Didrik and his men went to Skalholt to bully the old Bishop, meaning to go further east and break up the great cloisters of Thykkvabæ and Kirkjubæ. Didrik blustered in his bad language, bawling at the "divelz blindi biskup," but that was the end of him. The countryside rose; as he sat in the Bishop's parlour he looked out of the window and asked, "What is the meaning of all those halbards?" The meaning was that the avengers had come for him; he had to fight for his life; the man who killed him told Jón Egilsson all about it (*op. cit.*, p. 70). This happened on St. Lawrence Day, August 10th, 1539. It was followed by strong political action on the part of the Althing. Iceland was roused; not only were Didrik and his men convicted after execution and declared outlaws (*óþótta-menn*), but a strong and clear description of Claus van Marwitz, the governor, his robberies and forgeries was sent from the Althing, 1540, to the King, with a petition for his removal and for the appointment of no one "who does not know or keep the law of the land, and is not of Danish tongue."¹ The previous summer, after the death of Didrik, arrangements had been made for carrying on the government business through the sheriffs, without the governor. The Icelandic case was upheld in Denmark; Claus van Marwitz was sentenced by King and Council in 1542 to imprisonment for life. He was released the year after.

So far the people of Iceland were victorious; Iceland had never spoken more clearly or with better right as a single community. But Bishop Ogmund had to meet a greater danger than the violence of Didrik and the other ruffians. His coadjutor, Gizur, then in Denmark, is said to have persuaded the King that Ogmund stood

¹ "Danish tongue" does not mean Danish; it is the old name for the old Norse language. The ambiguity may have been calculated, so as not to offend the King. The Icelanders address the king as King of Norway and acknowledge the laws of Norway, not of Denmark.

in the way of the Gospel. In the spring of 1541 he came out in a man-of-war, with Christopher Hvítfeldt, the commissioner, and set himself busily to collect as much as possible of Bishop Ogmund's goods. The story is pretty fully told from the report of eye-witnesses, and there is a letter of Gizur himself which shows how far any witness was from exaggerating.

Bishop Ogmund was staying with his sister at Hjalli when the Danes came upon him. They roused him from his bed, and took him out to the courtyard in his long nightgown, but allowed him after that to put his clothes on; then they collected as much as they could of his silver. His sister, Asdis, tried to keep hold of him, but they pulled her away, put the old Bishop on a horse and brought him off to the ship. How the Bishop's silver was taken is told particularly on very good authority. The Bishop promised to give up his silver, and sent for the priest Einar to fetch it. Einar (whose son Egil tells the story) went to see the Bishop on board the ship, got his letter and seal as warrant, and then started for Hjalli along with six Danes and Egil, his son. Asdis gave them the keys of the money chest, and they swept everything into a sack, dollars, nobles, Rhenish guldens, cups and pots and all, so that there was not a single "lübeck" left. They took even the rims of the drinking horns. Asdis claimed a brooch as her own, and it was given up to her. But the Bishop was not released. They repented about the brooch, and said they must have it too; and the Bishop sent a letter to his sister, and the Danes took the letter, and brought the brooch away. But the Bishop was not allowed to land again; he was taken to Denmark, and died there. King Christian was not well pleased at the work of his servants.

Jón Egilsson, whose father and mother, Egil and Katrin, both saw something of this affair, was told by his grandfather, Einar, of a letter, written by some one to the Commissioner, "not to let the old fox

go"; at which Christopher Hvitfeldt shook his head, apparently not liking the style of his correspondent. The letter is extant, and the writer was the new Bishop Gizur. It is worth quoting in full, as a document of the Reformation.¹ It appears that to do things thoroughly Gizur had gone with Claus van Marwitz (who had not yet been recalled) to another house of Ogmund's in Haukadal to make a search there. The letter is written in Low German, which may thus be translated:—

"IHS. *Salutem per Christum*. I do your worship to know, good Christopher, that I have been with Claus van Marwitz in Haukadal, but there was nothing there of silver plate or any such stuff, nothing worth a mite, except one small silver cup about an ounce weight; everything had been carried off before, as the old one can tell you if he will. And there was nothing here at all of any worth, but all cleared away together, as Claus can inform you. Further, good Christopher, see to it that you do not let the fox loose on land again, now that he is safe in your keeping, for if he were to land the people might raise an uproar. It is not advisable that he should come to the Althing, since many of his adherents will be there. If possible, I will come to speak with you, three or four days before the Althing.

"The blessing of Almighty God be with you eternally. Written in haste in Haukadal, the Eve of Whitsunday, A.D. 1541.

"GIZURUS EINARI,

"Superintendens Schalholt.

"To the honourable and discreet Christopher Hvitfeldt, &c., this letter with all speed. G."

It is pleasant to believe, on the evidence of Síra Einar, that Christopher was disgusted when he read those evangelical sentences. The author of them, it

¹ Printed in *Safn*, i., 128.

should be remembered, was the scholar who translated the Protestant ordinance of 1538 from Latin into the vernacular tongue: his version has lately appeared, together with the Latin original, in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*.

Jón Arason, who had taken his full share in the condemnation of Claus van Marwitz, and who might have been expected to go further, was suddenly checked by the appearance of the Danish force and the removal of Bishop Ogmund. He seems to have felt that the proper course for him was to temporise, and if possible to fend off the detestable ordinance. He was on his way to the Althing when he heard of Ogmund's captivity; he stopped at Kalmanstunga and went no further. On the 27th June he wrote forbidding all action against the diocese of Hólar, and appealing to the Council of Norway. He also wrote in bolder terms to Christopher; sorry that he had been prevented by his friends from coming to an interview; he was ready to accept the ordinance if it were approved by the Catholic Church and the Chapter of Nidaros. The King summoned the two Icelandic Bishops to Copenhagen. Gizur went, of course; Jón of Hólar asked to be excused, and sent three proctors, his son Sigurd, Canon of Nidaros, being one (1542). They did homage to the King, and swore to the ordinance, and returned in 1543. Jón refused to be bound by their oath. But he did not attempt any active resistance, except in so far as he went on his way neglecting the new religion; *nusquam non more Papistico infantum confirmationes missas inferias lustrationes et dedicationes celebravit aliaque ejus farinae postliminio introducere allaboravit*, to quote the learned historian of the Church in Iceland. Jón did not quarrel openly with Gizur. The malignant may be sorry that he did not "teach" the superintendent of Skalholt, or at any rate ask him to consider it possible that he might be mistaken.

But Jón Arason must not be misunderstood through

his heroic death or through his spiritual songs. He was not a blameless heroic martyr; he was a hero like the men of the heroic age, working with craft and policy, and sometimes with violence, and often for very worldly ends. His fall came about through his likeness to his ancestors; he made the fortune of his family by the methods known three hundred or five hundred years earlier, and he came to ruin through a mistake about the strength of a worldly adversary. The other "big buck" (to repeat the familiar Icelandic term), Dadi Gudmundsson, won the match, and did not spare his enemy when he had got him down.

The story is as complicated as any of the feuds in *Sturlunga*. It is part of the great law case of Teit of Glaumbæ, which begins in 1523, and goes on for a century. It may be enough to say here that the Bishop and his sons took the old methods of getting their own; particulars are extant of the effect of their raids, including the loss of the pepper-mill and the mustard-mill already mentioned. The monotonous history comes to a head in the rivalry between Bishop Jón and Dadi Gudmundsson.

Dadi was one of the powerful men of the West, and has left his name in tradition. It may be taken perhaps as another proof of the Icelandic impartiality that tradition accepts with favour both the rivals, and has not made Dadi into a monster or a murderer on account of the beheading of Jón.¹

Gizur Einarsson died in the Lent of 1548. At that time Bishop Jón's spirits were high, and he was enjoying the old sport of raiding. He had let Gizur alone, for sufficient reasons. But the vacancy of the see was an opportunity not to be missed; and when Martin, the brother-in-law of Dadi, appeared as the new Superintendent, the temptation was irresistible.

Martin seems to have been an amiable man, without much distinction, except as a painter. He had been

¹ See Jón Arnason, *Þjóðsögur*, ii., 121,

engaged in trade before he took Orders. He was consecrated by Palladius at Easter, 1549; having spent the winter in Copenhagen studying evangelical divinity with Dr. Hans Machabeus, *i.e.*, John MacAlpine, some time Prior of the Black Friars in Perth, now a famous Professor of Theology in Denmark. Martin seems to have been treated in rather a condescending and patronising way by the great Protestant Theologians; but he got his certificate in good time.

The Protestant clergy in the diocese of Skalholt were fairly strong, and the Bishop of Hólar had not made much way there when Martin arrived. In a raid to the West, along with his two sons Síra Björn and Ari the Lawman, he picked up the new Bishop of Skalholt and Parson Arne Arnorsson, who as *officialis* of Skalholt in the vacancy had not been pliable. He hoped also to get hold of Dadi, and there was a chance of success. But warning was given in time; the story as told in one of the memoirs is not far below the level of the older Sagas. It describes the evening at Stadarstad, Martin's house on the south of the Snaefell promontory. As the Bishop's sons were sitting there, talking too freely about their plans, a man came in and sat near the door, no one paying him much attention, till as the dark drew on he stole away. Then he was missed; then it was asked who was the man sitting at the door saying nothing; and where had he gone? They looked for him and called; but all they saw was a man riding a good black horse hard over the moor. He was one of Dadi's men, riding the famous horse of which other stories were told long after. Naturally, when the Bishop and his sons came to Dadi's house at Snóksdal, their adversary was ready for them, and they had to be content with their clerical prisoners. Bishop Martin received a doubtful sort of hospitality during that winter; sometimes he was a guest at table;¹ some-

¹ A story told in the *Annals of Björn of Skarðsá* is translated C.P.B. ii., p. 387.

times he was set to beat stockfish. Parson Arne was for a time penned in a place of little ease; Bishop Jón made scoffing rhymes about him.

Arne comes into a curious passage of the memoirs of Jón Egilsson. Bishop Jón Arason had excommunicated Dadi; it happened that Parson Arne came to Snóksdal the very day that the curse was recited at Hólar. He and Dadi Gudmundsson were together.

“Then there came so violent hiccup on Dadi that he was amazed: it was like as if the breath were going out of him. Dadi said then:

‘Of me now there is word
Where I do not sit at board.’

Arne answered: ‘I will tell you how. There is word of you at Hólar because Bishop Jón is now putting you to the ban.’ Dadi Gudmundsson said: ‘You shall have five hundred from me if you manage so that it shall not touch me.’ Arne says: ‘That will I not do for any money, however much, to put myself so in pawn.’ But Dadi Gudmundsson kept on beseeching him, and Arne then says that he will make the venture ‘for our old acquaintance sake, but there will be a load to carry yet, I misdoubt me.’ Then both of them went to the church, and Arne stayed without, and Dadi Gudmundsson went in. Arne bolted the door on him. Then he stayed long outside, and at last he opened the door, and called Dadi Gudmundsson to come out; and there he saw that a shaggy year-old pony was running up and down by the side of a water as if he was mad. And at last the colt plunged head-first into a hole or pool, and ended there. Arne said: ‘Now, friend Dadi Gudmundsson, there you can see what was intended for you.’”

In his turn, King Christian in Copenhagen was cursing the Bishop of Hólar. (Monday after Scholastica, 1549; “he has treated us with disrespect, and not regarded our letters in no wise. Therefore we

outlaw the said Bishop John.”) And on Tuesday after the Conversion of St. Paul, 1550, the King writes to the clergy of Hólar to choose another Bishop.

About the same time, the Protestant Doctor Palladius writes to Jón Arason a letter which deserves to be read for instruction in manners, hardly less than the letter of Gizur Einarsson already quoted.

Palladius says that he is ready to explain the difference between the doctrines of Christ and the Pope, if only Jón will write or signify his wishes to the Governor of Iceland. As a specimen, he offers the statement that Christ has not commanded such things as Papal consecrations, confirmations, masses and fasts. He sends the prayer of Manasses, in Danish, which Jón (if it please him) may use with weeping tears. “Send a *Suffraganeus* who may stay and winter here, and then go out to reform churches and monasteries; *e.g.*, your son Sigurd, or Sir Olaf Hjaltason.”

“Put not your trust in the Pope; he died on St. Martin’s Eve († Paul III., 10 Nov., 1549). Perhaps you have already had news of that in Iceland; *for Hecla Fell often gives intimations of that nature.*”

Bishop Jón seems to have passed the winter comfortably. His ruin came through overweening; his son Ari (generally called the Lawman) had done his best to keep him from more raiding; his wife Helga thought poorly of her son Ari for this, and stirred him in the old-fashioned way with the present of a woman’s skirt: so that Ari went along with his father and his brother Síra Björn in the last expedition.

The scene of failure is one that has come into older history; Saudafell, where Jón Arason and his sons were taken by Dadi Gudmundsson, had been once the house of Sturla Sighvatsson, and the raid on Saudafell by the sons of Thorvald, in January, 1229, when the master was away, is one of the memorable episodes in *Sturlunga*. It stands rather high at the mouth of a valley looking North-West over the water, towards Hvamm

and other famous places, past the country of Laxdale. Snóksdal, the house of Dadi Gudmundsson, is close to it, below, and nearer to the sea. Saudafell had been one chief cause of contention between the Bishop and Dadi; both had some sort of a claim to it.

The Bishop went there in September, 1550, not as a raider, but to keep an engagement and attend a court. The Lawman Orm Sturluson had been asked, and had agreed, to hold a court at Saudafell to decide the differences between the parties. Jón and his sons came to Saudafell and stayed there some days. They did not understand their enemy; he was preparing a surprise, which was thoroughly successful. The Bishop and his two sons were taken; their followers scattered, every man his own way, except two who stood fast.

But then came perplexity for the victorious side. It was October; nothing could be settled till the following summer. The prisoners were to be kept till the Althing. Judgment was pronounced in a court held at Snóksdal, October 23, 1550. The Bishop and his sons had been outlawed by the King; the King had commanded Dadi to take them; Christian, the deputy, was to keep them in custody at Skalholt, with the assistance of Martin, till the Althing in summer. But it was not easy to keep them safe; the men of the North might be expected to come and rescue their Bishop. They were removed to Skalholt, as the court had decided. Christian, the Governor's deputy, who had come to Snóksdal at once after the capture, was always in consultation with Dadi. Then at last some one said the inevitable word: "Let the earth keep them." Bishop Jón Arason and Björn and Ari, his sons, were beheaded at Skalholt on the Friday after Hallowmas, November 7th, 1550.

How they bore themselves was clearly remembered. It has already been told how Jón Arason answered the poor well-meaning minister who warned him against idolatry, and spoke of a future life. It was long before

the Reformers gave up their unnecessary consolations; Mary Queen of Scots had to endure the same sort of importunity.

Ari was the most regretted of the three. "I went into this game against my will, and willingly I leave it."

The Bishop remembered the poor of his diocese; he always gave away supplies in spring, and now sent a message to Hólar to take care this should not be forgotten. He also made an epigram:—

What is the world? a bitter cheat,
If Danes must sit on the judgment-seat,
When I step forth my death to meet,
And lay my head at the King's feet.

The bodies of the three were at Skalholt all winter; in the spring of 1551 they were brought home to the North like the relics of martyrs.

Vengeance had already been taken for them, and it was Jón's daughter Thorun who set it going.

Among the men of the North who went South for the fishing that winter were some who meant to have the life of Christian, the Danish deputy. They got him at Kirkjuból, out at the end of Rosmhvalanes, and surrounded the house, wearing hoods and masks—a modern precaution. Before breaking into the house they asked and got leave from the owner: "Yes, break away, if you pay for it after." Christian and some other Danes were killed. It was reported that they came back from their graves, which made it necessary to dig them up and cut their heads off, with further preventive measures.

Ships of war came out, too late; and it is notable that the commander who was sent from Denmark to bring Bishop Jón Arason before King Christian III. was the same Kristoffer Trondsson (a great sea-captain in his day) who had enabled Archbishop Olaf Engelbrektsson of Nidaros to escape from Norway to the Netherlands, in April, 1537, out of the same King's danger.

The case against Jón Arason is found in the form of a speech supposed to have been delivered by Christian, the Danish deputy, in Skalholt, the day before the beheading of the Bishop and his sons. This is scarcely less remarkable than the letter of Gizur Einarsson as an historical document of the Reformation. The following is a good sample:—

“Likewise it is known to many gentlemen how Bishop John and his sons have set themselves to oppose the native people of this land, who have been at cost to venture over sea and salt water, sailing to transact their due business before our gracious lord the King, and many of them for their long voyage and their trouble have received letters from his Majesty, some upon monasteries, some upon royal benefices, which same letters of his Majesty might no longer avail or be made effective by no means; but as soon as they came here to Iceland Bishop John and his sons have made the King's letters null and void, and many a poor man has had his long journey for nothing and all in vain.”

On the other hand, it must be observed that with the exception of some contemporary rhymes upon his death none of the records which bring out the heroic character of Jón Arason were written by Catholics. The curious impartiality of the old Icelandic historians is still found working with regard to the Protestant Reformation, and it is Lutheran opinion in Iceland that thinks of Jón Arason as a martyr.

W. P. KER.

Additional Note. In *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok och Biblioteksväsen* I. 1 (1914) Isak Collijn of Stockholm reports the discovery and gives plates of 2 leaves of the lost *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, printed at Hólar. 1534, for Bishop Jón Arason by Jón Mathiasson the Swede.

SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE IN THE PLACE-NAMES OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM.¹

By PROFESSOR ALLEN MAWER, M.A., *Vice-President.*

ONE of the most striking features of present-day philological study in England and on the Continent is the attention which is being paid to the history and development of our English place-names. These studies are of interest not only for the light they throw on certain philological questions, but also—and for many this is their chief interest—because of the help they give in the solution of certain questions of historical or social interest. Recent study of the place-names of Northumberland and Durham has suggested the possibility that the history of the place-names of these two counties may serve to throw some light, however dim, on the very difficult problem of the extent and character of the Scandinavian settlements in North-east England. Attacks by Vikings on Northern England began before the close of the eighth century, but it was not until after the middle of the ninth century that Northumbria fell definitely under their power. At first the invaders contented themselves with Northumbria south of the Tyne, but in 875 Healfdene sailed up the Tyne and devastated the whole of Northern Northumbria. In the same year Northumbria was divided among his followers, and they began to plough and cultivate it. His kingdom came to a violent end in 877, and then, after a six years' interregnum, the rule passed into the hands of Guthred-

¹Note. The earlier part of this paper, so far as it deals with Northumberland, is an expansion of a paper contributed to *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 306-14.

Cnut, a prince of undoubted Scandinavian origin. Guthred-Cnut's kingdom extended over the whole of Northumbria, and he was followed by other princes—Siefred and Sitric—who were connected with the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin. The authority of these kings centred at York, and it is probable that from 885 onwards the portion of Northumbria covered by the present county of Northumberland was once more under the rule of English earls, acknowledging Alfred's authority, and holding Bamburgh as their capital. In the reign of Edward the elder (c. 915) a fresh Norse invasion from Ireland took place under Ragnall. He invaded Northumberland, and was victorious in a battle at Corbridge-on-Tyne against Eadred of Bamburgh, and Constantine of Scotland. After his victory Ragnall advanced on York, which he took into his possession, and at the same time he divided the lands of St. Cuthbert, (the territory covering roughly the east and south portions of the county of Durham), between his two chief followers, Scula and Onlafbald. From this time (c. 921) down to the middle of the tenth century a succession of kings of Norse origin held sway in Northumbria, the last being Eric Blood-axe, finally expelled in 952 or 954.

One of the many problems connected with the study of this Scandinavian kingdom of Northumbria is the real extent and character of the Norse and Danish settlements. We have seen that in 875 Healfdene is said to have divided Northumbria among his followers in the same way that East Anglia and Northern Mercia were portioned out among the Viking settlers there, but the fact that Ragnall, after his victories in 928, made an assignment of large portions of co. Durham, would suggest either that Northern Northumbria (Northumberland and Durham) had never been settled in the same way as Northumbria south of the Tees, or else that there had been some resurgence of the old Anglian element leading to the ousting of the

invaders from their hastily acquired land, at least in Northumbria.

An examination of the place-names of Northumbria supports this idea. It reveals wide differences in the proportionate distribution of place-names of Scandinavian origin over Northumbria as a whole, and the general result of this study, it may be stated at the outset, is to confirm the scanty evidence of history and compel us to draw a definite line of demarcation between the counties of Northumberland and Durham, on the one hand, and the remaining counties of the old kingdom on the other. Of the Scandinavian element in these other counties it is not my purpose to speak, except for purposes of comparison; but the intensely Scandinavian character of the place-nomenclature of almost the whole of Yorkshire, of great portions of Lancashire, of Cumberland and Westmoreland, is evident even from the most cursory examination of the modern map, and is made yet more clear if we study works dealing with the actual history of these names, such as Prof. Wyld's book on the Place-names of Lancashire, and Prof. Moorman's on those of the West Riding, or even better, for our purpose, the recently published work of Dr. Lindkvist on M.E. Place-names of Scandinavian origin, of which the first part is all that has at present appeared.

Let us now examine in detail the place-names of Northumberland and Durham, with a view to determining the Scandinavian element. In estimating Scandinavian influence in place nomenclature two methods may be adopted: (1) the rough and ready one of studying the modern ordnance map, and attempting to form an immediate and (in more senses than one) superficial estimate of the number of names containing Scandinavian elements; (2) the more accurate and satisfactory one of collecting the M.E. forms of all the place-names of any particular district, establishing their history and development, and finally determining those

which may definitely be stated to be of Scandinavian origin. In the case of the two counties at least which we have under present consideration both these methods have their value, for the counties of Northumberland and Durham stand somewhat apart from the rest of England in the character and extent of the documentary evidence which we have for the early forms of their place-names. Both alike have practically no charters belonging to pre-conquest times, a misfortune which they share, with but few exceptions, with the whole of England north of the Humber, and neither county is mentioned in Domesday. Northumberland has several valuable cartularies belonging to post-conquest times, and there are abundant references in the national records, but, unfortunately, there were large regalities within her borders where the king's writ seldom ran, and for these districts the evidence is at times scanty or insufficient. Northamptonshire, Islandshire and Bedfordshire belonged to the Palatinate Bishopric of Durham, and though there are some valuable early charters there are lamentable gaps. Still more unfortunate is the case of the large district of Hexhamshire, once a regality under the rule of the Archbishop of York. There the early records are very scarce, and it is the more to be regretted as, to judge from the present-day nomenclature, Scandinavian influence may at one time have been a good deal stronger here than in the rest of the county.

County Durham itself is in even worse case. She has, of course, her Domesday Book, in the form of Boldon Book, but invaluable as that work is for the understanding of her social and economic history, it is of comparatively little use for our purpose; for though Boldon Book was compiled in the twelfth century there are no copies extant of earlier date than the fourteenth century, with the result that place-names are recorded in very late forms, for the transcribers have for the most part given them the forms current in their own time.

There are some valuable eleventh and twelfth century charters belonging to the bishopric, and the records of Durham Priory are full and valuable, but a vast mass of early material concerned with the history of the Palatinate has disappeared through the vandalism of bishops and others, and we are, unfortunately, very scantily supplied with documentary evidence for those parts of county Durham in the extreme west, where, to judge from the present-day map, the influence was strongest. It is peculiarly advisable, therefore, in the case of these counties, and more so in Durham than in Northumberland, to endeavour to eke out the deficiencies of ancient material by a careful use of the modern ordnance map.

In the case of each county we will deal first with the comparatively certain material to be found in documents of the M.E. period. It should be added here that one or two names which have often been regarded as evidence of Scandinavian influence can no longer be used as such after examination of their M.E. forms. This applies especially to the two examples of *beck* which may be found in the county. The Wansbeck is in all early documents written as *Wanespic*, *Wanespike*, or some kindred form, showing clearly that the modern spelling is due to folk, or antiquarian, influence, while Bulbeck Common, above Blanchland, is so called from the great barony of Bulbeck, of which it once formed part. The first baron of Bulbeck took his title from Bolbec, a Norman village near the mouth of the Seine, and though the name is ultimately of Scandinavian origin, it is, of course, no mark of Viking settlement in England. One other example of *-beck* may be found in the form *Fullbek*, in the Newminster Cartulary, but the name has disappeared from the modern map and is of little importance. The place-names will be grouped as far as possible according to their geographical distribution. The following is a list of the chief abbreviations used :—

- Abbr.—Placitorum abbreviatio.
 Ass.—Assize Rolls for Northumberland (Surtees Soc.).
 Att. Test.—*Attestatio Testarum* (v. F.P.D.).
 B.B.—Baldon Book (Surtees Soc.).
 Björkman.—Z.A.N. (Zur Altenglischen Namenkunde), N.P. (Nordische Personennamen).
 B.B.H.—Black Book of Hexham (Surtees Soc.).
 B.C.S.—Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*.
 Brkb.—Brinkburn Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 B.M.—Charters and Rolls in British Museum.
 Ch.—Calendar of Charter Rolls.
 Cl.—Calendar of Close Rolls.
 D.B.—Domesday Book.
 Durh. Acct. Rolls.—(Surtees Soc.).
 D.S.T.—*Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc.).
 E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.
 F.A.—Feudal Aids.
 F.P.D.—*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc.).
 Finch.—Finchale Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Gray.—Archbishop Gray's Register (Surtees Soc.).
 H.—Hodgson's *Northumberland*.
 Hatf.—Bishop Hatfield's Survey (Surtees Soc.).
 H.P.—Hexham Priory (Surtees Soc.).
 H.S.C.—History of St. Cuthbert (v. S.D.).
 Inq. a.q.d.—*Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*.
 Ipm.—Calendar of Inquisitions *post mortem*.
 Iter.—*Iter de Wark* (Hartshorne's *Feudal Antiquities*).
 Lind.—*Norsk-isländska Dopnamn*.
 Lindkvist.—M.E. place-names of Scandinavian origin.
 Moorman.—Place-names of the West Riding (Thoresby Soc.).
 N.E.D.—New English Dictionary.
 Newm.—Newminster Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Orig.—*Rotulorum originalium abbreviatio*.
 Pat.—Calendar of Patent Rolls.
 Perc.—Percy Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Pipe.—Pipe Rolls (Pipe Roll Society, Hodgson's *Northumberland*).
 Q.W.—*Placita quo Warranto*.
 R.B.E.—Red Book of the Exchequer.
 R.C.—*Rotuli Cartarum*.
 R.H.—*Rotuli Hundredorum*.
 Reg. Bp. K.—Register of Bishop Kellaw (v. R.P.D.).
 R.P.D.—*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, Rolls Series.
 Rygh.—Indl. (Indledning til Norske Gaardnavne), G.P. (Gamle Personnavne i Norske Gaardnavne), N.G. (Norske Gaardnavne).
 S.D.—Simeon of Durham (Rolls Series).
 S.R.—Subsidy Rolls (MS.).
 Swinb.—Swinburn Charters (Hodgson's *Northumberland*).
 Tax.—*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.
 Testa.—*Testa de Neville*.
 Ty.—Tynemouth Cartulary (Gibson's *Tynemouth*).
 Wickwane.—Abp. Wickwane's Register (Surtees Soc.).
 Wyld.—Place-names of Lancashire.

The basin of the Till and its tributaries:—

AKELD (Kirknewton). 1169 Pipe *Achelda*; 1176 Pipe *Hakelda*; 1229 Pat. *Akeld*; 1255 Ass. *Akil*, *Akyl*, *Akyld*; 1216-1307 Testa *Akild'*, *Akyld'*; 1346, 1428 F.A. *Akyld*.

O.N. *á*, river, and *kelda*, well, spring. The second element is used in the Northumberland dialect of a marshy place, and also of the still part of a lake or river which has an oily smoothness (E.D.D.). Akeld lies on the edge of the well-marked valley of the Glen, and Akeld Steads lies low, by the river itself—*cf.* Wyld, p. 363, and Keld in Swaledale (Yo.). The first element is found also in Aby (Lincs.), “the *-by* on the Great *Eau* (or river).” The O.N. *á* is found as M.E. *ā*, “stream or watercourse,” in mediæval documents (*v.* N.E.D.).

COUPLAND (Kirknewton). 1216-1307 Testa *Coupland*; 1255 Ass. *Couplaund*; 1323 Ipm. *Coupelande*; 1346, 1450, F.A. *Coupland*.

This name is explained by Lindkvist (pp. 145-6). It is the O.W.Sc. *kaupa-land*, land gained by purchase (= *kaupa-jörð*) opposed in a way to *óðals-jörð*, an allodial estate. Only one example of its use is to be found in O.W.Scand., viz., in Biskopa Sögur. Lindkvist notes its occurrence here and in Copeland (Cumb.). It is also to be found in Copeland House (co. Durham) (*v. infra*), and probably in the Copeland Islands, off Belfast Lough.

CROOKHAM (Ford). 1244 Ch. *Crucum*; 1254 Ipm. *Crukum*; 1273 R.H. *Cruchu'*; 1304 Ch. *Crukum*; 1340 Ch. *Crocum*; 1346, 1428 F.A. *Crokome*.

“At the windings.” The dat. pl. of O.N. *krókr*, a crook or winding. According to Rygh (Indl. p. 62) it often refers to the bends of a river, a sense which would suit Crookham well, for it stands on the banks of the Till, which takes an unusually tortuous course here.

CROOKHOUSE (Kirknewton). 1323 Ipm. *Le Croukes*.

The nom. pl. corresponding to the dat. pl. found in Crookham (v. supra). The name may have borne reference to the winding course of the Bowmont Water at this point—cf. Crookes (Moorman, p. 53).

ILDERTON. 1189 Abbr. *Hilderton*; 1228 Att. Test. *Ildertone*; 1255 Ass. *Hilderton*, *Ilderton*; 1291 Tax. *Hilderton*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Ildirtone*; 1216-1307 Testa *Hildirton*; 1336 Ch. *Ildretona*, *Hildreton*; 1346 F.A. *Hillerton*, *Ildreton*, *Hildreton*; 1428 F.A. *Ilderton*.

The history of this name is given by Lindkvist (pp. 10-11), viz., that it is the *tun* of a woman bearing the Scandinavian name *Hild*. *Hilder-* is the gen. form *Hildar* of this name. It is also found as the first element in Hinderwell (Yo.), earlier *Hilderwelle* and Hilderclay (Suff.). For the loss of initial *h* we may compare the history of Oakington (Cambs.). Skeat (*Place-names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 16) remarks that all the early spellings point to *Hocing-* as the first element in this name.

INGRAM. 1255 Ass. *Angram*; 1283 Ipm. *Hangrham*, *Angeharm*; 1291 Tax. *Angerham*; 1216-1307 Testa *Angerham*; 1306 R.P.D. *Angirham*; 1324 Ipm. *Angerham*; 1346 F.A. *Angram*; 1428 F.A. *Ayngramme*; 1507 D.S.T. cccvi. *Yngram*.

For this name v. Angerton *infra*. It is very doubtful if this name shows Scandinavian influence.

Bamburgh and district :—

LUCKER. 1167-9 Pipe *Lucre*; 1255 Ass. *Lucre*; 1288 Ipm. *Locre*; 1216-1307 Testa *Lukre*; 1290 Abbr. *Loker*; 1307 Ch. *Lucre*; 1314 Ipm. *Louker*; 1346 F.A. *Loker*; 1379 Ipm. *Lokere*.

The second element is M.E. *ker*, "a marshy place" < O.N. *kiarr*, "ground of a swampy nature overgrown with brushwood." The first element may be O.N. *ló*, a sandpiper. The sandpiper specially frequents flat

marshy places, such as are often found near the sea-shore. This description would suit the actual site of Lucker.

RENNINGTON. 1104-8 S.D. *Reiningtun*; 1175 Pipe *Renninton*; 1255 Ass. *Renington*; 1256 Ch. *Renigton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Renigton*; 1307 Ch. *Renington*; 1314 Ipm. *Renington*.

The ultimate history of this name would seem to be settled by the passage in Simeon of Durham (Vol. I., pp. 65, 80), which says that Franco, one of the bearers of the body of St. Cuthbert (c. 880) "pater erat Reingualdi, a quo illa quam condiderat villa Reiningtun est appellata." The name *Reingualdus* is doubtless the Latinised form of the O.N. name *Rognvaldr*, borne by more than one Viking chieftain in England and Ireland. The name *Franco* is certainly not of Scandinavian origin, so that probably *Reingualdus* was Scandinavian only on his mother's side. The history of the form is difficult unless we assume that the name Regenweald or Rægenald, the Anglicised form of O.N. *Rognvaldr* was in use also in the short form *Regin* or *Rein*, whence the patronymic *Reining* was formed.

HOWICK. 1230 Pat. *Hawic*; 1278 Ass. *Hawick*. *Hawyke*; 1281 Wickwane *Howyk'*; 1288 Ipm. *Howick*; 1291 Tax. *Howyk*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Houwyk*; 1318 Inq. aqd. *Howyke*, *Owike*; 1340 Pat. *Howyke*; 1359 Cl. *Houwyk*; 1374; Durh. Acct. Rolls *Hawyke*; 1375 ib. *Howik*.

This name is explained by Lindkvist (pp. 182-3) as from O.N. *hár*, *hór*, "high," and *vík*, "creek, inlet, bay," and he compares it with the Norw. *Haavík*, which is found in several localities and has different origins, but refers sometimes to a shore skirted with high mountains or some (steep) acclivity on the shore. The early prevalence of forms with *o* may have been helped by memories of O.E. *hōh*, M.E. *ho(we)* "a promontory."

DENWICK. 1278 Ass. *Denewick*; 1288 lpm. *Denewick*;
1216-1307 Testa *Denwyk*; 1334 Pat. *Denewyk*.

The "wick" or dwelling-place in the valley (O.E. *denu*) or, possibly, of the Danes (O.E. *Dena*).

BROTHERWICK. 1251 lpm. *Brothirwike*; 1275 lpm.
Brothirwyk; 1216-1307 Testa *Brotherwick*; 1273
R.H. *Broyerwyk*.

The "wick" or dwelling-place of a Scandinavian settler named *Broðir*. This is a well-established Norse and Danish personal name. The corresponding English name, *Broðir*, is only found in the 11th century, and may well be due to Scandinavian influence. Björkman (*Z.A.N.*, p. 27) finds the same element in Brotherton (Yo.) and Brothertoft (Lincs.). The name is common in Danish place-names. Nielsen (*Old-danske Personnavne*, p. 13), gives Brarup (earlier *Brothærthorþ*), Brotherstedt, Brodersby, Brorstrup.

The basin of the Coquet and its tributaries:—

BRINKBURN. 1216-27 Newm. *Brinkeburn*; 1252 Ch.
Brinkeburn; 1259 Ch. *Brinkeburn*; 1255 Ass.
Brinkeburn; 1313 R.P.D. *Brenkeburn*; 1507
D.S.T. ccciv. *Brenkeburn*.

"The place on the steep sloping banks of the burn," here the R. Coquet. It is doubtful if the element *Brink-* is necessarily evidence for Scandinavian influence *v.* *Brenkley infra*.

ROTHBURY. 1099-1128 H.P. *Routhebiria*; 1176 Pipe
Robirei, *Roberi*; 1200 R.C. *Robery*; 1203 R.C.
Robery; 1204 R.C. *Rodbery*; 1210-2 R.B.E.
Roburiam; 1212 R.C. *Roubir*; 1219 Pat. *Roobiry*;
1228 Cl. *Robir*; 1228 Pat. *Rothebiry*; 1248 lpm.
Roubiri; 1255 Ass. *Roubir*, *Rowebyr*; 1258-9
Newm. *Routhbiry*; 1271 Ch. *Rodebir*, *Robery*;
1291 Tax. *Routhebyr*; 1331 Perc. *Routhebiry*;
1346 F.A. *Rothebury*, *Routhbery*.

The explanation of this name is given by Lindkvist (pp. 158-9). The first element is O.W.Sc. *rauðr*, "red,"

the diphthong *au* being regularly represented in M.E. by *ou*; the second element is the common suffix *-bury*, representing the dative singular of O.E. *burg*, "fortress, castle," etc., and the name of the place was originally "at the red fort." It is of hybrid formation.

THROPTON (Rothbury). 1176 Pipe *Tropton*; 1248 Ipm. *Tropton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Thropton*; 1309 Ipm. *Thropton*; 1334 Perc. *Thorpton*; 1346 F.A. *Thropton*.

"The farm by the thorp." O.E. and O.N. *Þorþ-tún*. *Thorp* is a fairly common metathesised form of *thorþ*. cf. *Throp Hill* (in *Mitford*), *Dunthorp* and *Heythorp* ((Oxf.). The same metathesis is found in Danish. cf. *Hos-trup*, *Vam-drup*. For the use of *thorþ* in Northumberland v. *infra*, p.

SNITTER (Rothbury). 1176 Pipe *Snittera*; 1175 Pipe *Snitere*; 1248 Ipm. *Snither*; 1278 Ass. *Snytre*, *Snyter*; 1309 Ipm. *Snytir*; 1334 Perc. *Snytir*; 1346 F.A. *Snytie*; 1439 Ipm. *Snyter*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this element, which is found also in *Snetterton* (Norf.), *Snitterby* (Lincs.), *Snitterfield* (Warw.), *Snitterton* (Derbys.), *Snitterley* (Norf.), v. *Essays and Studies* by members of the English Association, Vol IV., p. 66.

BICKERTON. 1245 Brkb. *Bykerton*; c. 1247 Newm. *Bikerton*; 1266 Ass. *Bikerton*, *Bykertone*; 1216-1307 Testa *Bikerton*; 1346 F.A. *Bikerton*; 1428 F.A. *Bekerton*.

For the history of this name and its Scandinavian origin v. *Essays and Studies*, u.s., p. 59.

PLAINFIELD. 1272 Newm. *Flaynefeld*.

The first element is fairly certainly of Scandinavian origin, *ay* representing the common O.N. diphthong *ei*. It would seem to be the O.N. *fleinn*, "a pike, an arrow, or the fluke of an anchor" (= O.E. *flān*), and *Flaynefeld* may have meant originally a field whose shape suggested the fluke of an anchor. Less probably the

first element may be an O.N. personal name. *Fleinn* was the name of a 9th century skald (Lind. s.v.), and the name is also found as a nickname in *Æiríkr flæin*. Rygh (G.P., p. 272) finds this name also in the Norse place-name *Flenstad*. The modern name would seem to be due to the substitution of a form more easily capable of explanation.

ROTHLEY. 1233-4 Pipe *Rotheleg*; 1255 Ass. *Rotheley*, *Rotheleg*; 1271 Ch. *Rotheley*, *Rothelay*; 1216-1307 Testa *Rotheley*; 1346 F.A. *Rotheley*.

The first element in this name may be the same as that in Rothbury, but the absence of any M.E. spelling with *ou* makes such an etymology difficult of acceptance. Otherwise it may be for O.E. *Hrōðan-leah*, the meadow of a man *Hrōða*, that being a shortened or pet form of one of the numerous Old English names of which *Hrōð-* is the first element. A very doubtful example of Scandinavian influence.

Basin of the Wansbeck and its tributaries:—

THROP HILL (Mitford). 1166 R.B.E. *Trophil*; 1273 R.H. *Troppil*; 1216-1307 Testa *Throphill*; 1201 Tax. *Throphill*.

“The hill by the thorp.” cf. Thropton *supra*.

TRANWELL. 1267 Ipm. *Trennewell*; 1280 Ipm. *Tranewell*; 1310 Ch. *Tranwell*; 1316 Ipm. *Tranwell*; 1323 Ipm. *Trenwell*, *Tranewell*; 1356 Cl. *Tranewell*; 1386 Ipm. *Trenwell*; 1428 F.A. *Trenwell*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this name v. Essays and Studies, u.s., p. 68.

ANGERTON (Hartburn). 1186 Pipe *Angerton*; 1261 Ipm. *Angerton*; 1278 Ass. *Angerton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Ang'ton*; 1312 Ipm. *Angirton*, *Angerton*; 1314 Ipm. *Angerton*; 1346 F.A. *Angerton*.

For the history of this name v. Essays and Studies, n.s., p. 58. It is very doubtful if it can be considered an example of Scandinavian influence.

FISELBY (Hartington). 1319 Pat. *Fiselby*; 1378 Ipm. *Fisilby*; 1390 Ipm. *Fisildene*; 1396 Ipm. *Fesilby*; 1418 Ipm. *Fisilby*.

This is a place which has, unfortunately, disappeared entirely from the modern map. It seems to be a clear example of the well-known Scandinavian suffix *-by*, but if so it is unique in Northumberland, and it is impossible to explain the first element from any known Scandinavian name.

HAWICK (Kirkharle). 1284 Ipm. *Hawik*; 1216-1307 Testa *Hawic*; 1346 F.A. *Hauwyk*.

The M.E. forms of Hawick are identical with the *a*-forms of Howick (*v. supra*). The second element here is probably M.E. *wick*, O.E. *wíc*, a dwelling-place, though it may possibly be the O.N. *vík*, which, according to Rygh (Indl., p. 55) is sometimes applied to a bend of a river, and was perhaps used generally in the sense of "curve," "angle" (*cf.* Lindkv., p. 145).

CROOKDEAN (Kirkwhelpington). 1324 Ipm. *Crokeden*; 1331 Ipm. *Crokden*.

Probably the "valley of a Norseman named *Krókr*," though it may be "the valley with or by a crook, or twist" (*cf.* Crookham, *supra*). For the former *cf.* Wyld, pp. 104-5 (Crookells, Croston and Croxteth), Björkman, N.P., p. 89, and Z.A.N., p. 58. *Cf.* Croxton (Norf.), Croxby (Lincs.), Croxton (Lincs.), Croxton (Leic.).

Basin of the Blyth and its tributaries:—

BRENKLEY (Ponteland). 1177 Pipe *Brinchelawa*, *Brinkelawa*; 1271 Ch. *Brinkelawe*; 1216-1307 Testa *Brinkelawe*; 1248 B.B.H. 115 *Brinkelagh*; 1346 F.A. *Brenklawe*; 1354 Perc. *Brenkelawe*; 1479 B.B.H. *Brenklawe*.

The element *Brenk-* or *Brink-* is of doubtful Scandinavian origin, *v. Essays and Studies, u.s.*, p. 62.

COWPEN (Horton). 1153-95 Brkb. *Cupum*; a. 1197 Newm. *Cupum*; 1250 Newm. *Copoun*; 1271 Ch. *Copun*; 1292 Q.W. *Copun*; 1295 Ty. xci. *Cupun*; 1216-1307 Testa *Cupum*; 1315 Ch. *Coupon*; 1346 F.A. *Copon*; 1380 Ipm. *Cowpon*; 1428 F.A. *Coupowne*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this name v. Essays and Studies, u.s., p. 63.

OUSTON (Stamfordham). 1255 Ass. *Hulkeston*, *Ulkillleston*; 1346 F.A. *Ulkeston*.

The *tun* of Ulkill, i.e., O.N. *Ulfkell* < *Ulfketill* (cf. Björkman, N.P., p. 168, and Rygh, G.P., p. 269). Cf. Ouston (co. Durham) *infra*.

The Tyne Valley :—

BYKER. 1249-50 Pipe *Byker*; 1259 Ipm. *Bicre*; 1255 Ass. *Bykere*; 1298 Ch. *Biker*; 1216-1307 Testa *Byker*, *Biker*; 1313 Ch. *Byker*; 1322 Inq. aqd. *Biker*; 1428 F.A. *Byker*.

v. Essays and Studies, u.s., p. 59.

WALKER. 1267 Ipm. *Walkyr*; 1216-1307 Testa *Wautre*; 1316 Ipm. *Walker*; 1346 F.A. *Walker*, *Walcar*; 1428 F.A. *Walker*.

“The low-lying marshy place by the wall.” O.N. *kjarr*, “copsewood, brushwood, especially on swampy ground.” Walker is on the low-lying ground which slopes down to the Tyne just south of the line of the Roman wall, a little west of its terminus at Wallsend.¹

WHORLTON. 1323 Pat. *Wherleton*; 1324 Cl. *Wherlton*, *Wherwelton*.

For the history of this name, in which the first element is O.N. *hvírfill*, v. Essays and Studies, u.s., p. 70.

¹ Falkmann (*Ortnamnen i Skåne*) pp. 65 and 95, derives the place-name *Vallkärra* from O.N. *völlr* (plain) and *kiarr*. This may possibly be the source of Walker.

NAFFERTON (Ovingham). 1182 Pipe *Nafferton*; 1212 R.C. *Naffertone*; 1221 Pat. *Nafretun*; 1225 Pat. *Naffreton*; 1253 Ch. *Naffreton*; 1261 Ipm. *Nafferton*; 1263 Ipm. *Natferton*; 1289 Ipm. *Natferton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Natferton*; 1280 Ipm. *Nafferton*.

The explanation of this place-name, together with that of *Nafferton* (Yo.) is given by Lindkvist (pp. 187-8) and accepted by Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 63), viz., that the first element is the O.W. Scand. name *Náttfari*, night-traveller, found in the place-name *Natt-faravik* (Lind., s.v.), and also in the place-name *Naffen-torp* in Skåne, of which the earlier form is *Natfaræthorp*. The D.B. spelling of *Nafferton* in Yorkshire—*Nadfartone*—is nearest to the original form *Náttfaratún*, except that *t* has become *d*, in accordance with a fairly common practice of A.N. scribes. One objection to this etymology however must be raised. There is a place *Nafford* in Worcestershire, of which the D.B. form is *Nadford*, and whose second element must be *-ford*. *Nafferton* might well be for *Nafford-ton*, in the same way that *Brafferton* (Durh.) goes back to *Bradford-tuna* (= *tun* by the broad ford), *Bretforton* (Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*, s.n.) to D.B. *Bratfortune*, Swinnerton (Duignan, *Staffordshire Place-names*, s.n.) to *Swinforton* (= the *tun* by the swine-ford), *Hervington* (Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*, s.n.) to *Herforton* (= the *tun* by the army-ford). *Nadford* is difficult of explanation. It may be from O.E. *Natanford*, the ford of a man named *Nāta* (cf. B.C.S. 165, *Natangrafas* and Wyld, p. 193, for length of vowel), with shortening of vowel in first element of compound and voicing of *t* to *d* as above.

North Tyne and its tributaries:—

HAINING (Redesdale). 1304 Pat. *Haynyng*; 1358 Ipm. *Haynyng*.

This place-name is probably of Scandinavian origin. In M.E. *hain* is used in the sense of an enclosure or

park, and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words* (p. 242) connects it with O.W.Sc. *hegna*, to hedge or fence, O.Sw. *hæghn*, Swed. *hägn*, enclosure, fence or protection, Dan. *hegn*, though he points out that as the word-stem from which it is formed was current in O.E. the word may possibly be of native formation. In the modern dialect of Northumberland and Durham the word *hain-ing* (v. E.D.D.) is used to denote "the preserving of grass for cattle, protected grass, any fenced field or enclosure, a separate place for cattle," and the first part of the word is undoubtedly the same as the M.E. *hain*. The suffix *-ing* may be the M.E. *ing*, meadow, grassland, a word which is itself of Scandinavian origin, or it may be the verbal suffix *-ing*, the word meaning originally the action of hedging in or enclosing, and then being used of the enclosure itself. *cf.* the development of *Riding*, originally "a ridding or clearing," and then used of the actual space cleared. The word *haining* is found more than once in the place-names of both Northumberland and Durham.¹

TOFT HOUSE (Rochester). 1397 Pat. *Toft*.

One of the three examples of *toft* found in Northumberland place-names, and the only one for which a M.E. form has been found. It is from O.W. Scand. *toft*, *topt*, "a piece of ground, messuage, homestead, a place marked out for a house or building" (*cf.* Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 113).

BINGFIELD. 1180 Pipe *Bingefeld*; 1290 Abbr. *Bingefeud*; 1295 S.R. *Bingefeld*; 1298 B.B.H. 69 *Byngefeld*; 1479 B.B.H. *Byngfeld*.

For the history of this name, in which the first element is pretty certainly Scandinavian, v. *Essays and Studies*, u.s., p. 60.

¹ Steenstrup, *Indledende Studier over de ældste Danske Stednavnes Bygning*, p. 276, mentions place-names of the forms *Hegneden*, *Hegningen*, *Heined*, *Heiningen* and connects them with the O.Dan. word *Hægnæth* used frequently in the laws of "enclosed" land as opposed to "common" land.

GUNNERTON. 1169-70 Pipe *Gunwarton*; 1255. Ass. *Cunewarton*; 1269 Ipm. *Gonewerton*; 1270 Ipm. *Gonewarton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Gunwarton*; 1318 Ipm. *Gunwertoun*; 1346 F.A. *Gunwarton*; 1479 B.B.H. *Gunwardton*, *Gonwarton*.

The element *Gunner-* in English place-names may go back to any one of the following Norse personal names (1) *Gunnarr* (m.), (2) *Gunnvarðr* (m.), or (3) *Gunnvor* (f.) The last two names appear in D.B. in the forms *Gunwardus* and *Gunneuware* respectively (Björkman, N.P., pp. 54-9). The old forms of *Gunnerton* suggest derivation from either of these last two names: if any stress may be laid on the isolated spelling, *Gunwardton*, the first of these two is the more likely, but it should be noted that the Norse name *Gunnvarðr* is very rare (Lind. s.v.) and Björkman (N.P., p. 59) suggests that possibly the English *Gunwardus* is a hybrid formation, with the common English suffix *-weard*. The name *Gunnvor* is found in Norse place-names (Rygh, G.P., pp. 106-7).

Valley of the South Tyne:—

STONECROFT HOUSE (Newbrough). 1175-6 Pipe *Stancroft*; 12th cent. B.B.H. 85 *Stancroft*; 1262 Ch. *Staincroft*; 1298 B.B.H. 109 *Stayncroft*; 1325 Ipm. *Stayncroft*; 1326 Ipm. *Staincroft*; 1327 Orig. *Stanncroft*.

“The croft by some well-known stone,” or “the stony croft.” Lindkvist (p. 90) notes two forms only—those of 1262 and 1298—and suggests that the first element is O.N. *steinn*, “a stone or rock.” The forms given above would tend to show that the name was originally genuinely O.E., with *stan* as the first element, which should have given Northern English *Stancroft*. During the M.E. period substitution of the form *Stain* or *Stayn*, derived from the O.N., took place, under the influence of the numerous place-names with

forms like *Stainton*. In modern English the Northern form *Stan-* has been replaced by standard English *Stone-*.

HENSHAW (Haltwhistle). 12th cent. B.B.H. 85 *Hedeneshalch*; 1262 Ch. *Hethingisalt*; 1279 Iter. *Heinzhalu*; 1299 Cal. Sc. *Hethenhalc*; 1298 B.B.H. 113 *Hetheneshalgh*; 1316 Ipm. *Hethyneshalch*; 1326 Ipm. *Henneshalgh*; 1328 Ipm. *Hethynsalgh*; 1479 B.B.H. *Hennishalgh*.

The history of this name is the same as that of the Yorkshire Hensall (Moorman, p. 96). The second element is the O.E. *healh*, a corner of land. The first element is explained by Moorman as O.E. *hæðenes*, and the whole name as the "heathen's corner," that is some settlement made by a Dane singled out by his Christian neighbours because of his heathen faith. Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 45) suggests, with more probability, that the first element is the common Old Norse name *Heðinn* (cf. Björkman, N.P., p. 66). This is very frequently found in Old Norse place-names (Rygh, G.P., pp. 120-1) with the same contracted form as in the English name.

OUSTON (Whitfield). 1258 H. 2, 3, 59 n. i. *Vlueston*; 1279 Iter. *Ulvestona*.

The *tun* of a man named Ulf < O.N. *Ulf*r (= O.E. *Wulf*). Oulston (Yo.) has the same origin. Ouston in Leicestershire is from earlier *Osulveston*, i.e., the *tun* of *Oswulf*, a genuine English name.

FEATHERSTONE. c. 1215 B.B.H. 89 *Fetherstanhalcht*; 1222 Cal. Sc. *Ferstonehalc*; 1255 Ass. *Fetherstone-lawe*; 1278 Ass. *Ferstanhallu*; 1346 F. A. *Fetherstanehalgh*; 1428 F.A. *Fetherstanehaugh*; 1479 B.B.H. *Fetherstanhalgh*.

The place-name Featherstone is found in Staffordshire and also in Yorkshire. The forms of the Staffs. place name are 994 *Featherstan*, D.B. *Ferdestan*, 1271 *Fethereston*, and Duignan (p. 60) suggests that the

first element is the personal name *Feader*, the name of a huscarl of Harthacnut, slain at Worcester in 1014. If so, the name is probably of Scandinavian origin, corresponding to O.Sw. *Fadhir*, O.Dan. *Fathir*. The name *Faðir* is of fictitious origin in O.N. (Bjö., N.P., p. 38). It occurs in D.B. as *Fader*, and is found in Danish place-names, e.g., Fatherstorp, Faderstrup (Nielsen, *Olddanske Person-navne*, p. 24). Moorman (p. 71) accepts this explanation for the Yorkshire place-name, whose early forms are D.B. *Fredestan*, *Ferestane*, 1122 *Fedrestana*, 1166 *Fetherstan*, and Wyld (pp. 124-5) inclines to the same solution for the first element in Featherstall (Lancs.).

KELLAH (Featherstone). 1279 Iter. *Kellaw*; 1479 B.B.H. *Kellaw*, *Kellone*.

The first element is possibly a shortened form of the Old Norse name *Ketill*. This form is found in Kelsdale (Lincs.) (Lindkv., p. 33), in Kelby (Lincs., D.B., *Chelebi*), Kelsey (Lincs., Lincs. Survey, *Cheleseī*), Kelsale (Suff., F.A., *Keleshale*), possibly in Kelling (Norf., D.B., *Kellinga*). A possible alternative explanation is that given by Moorman (p. 111) in explaining Kelbrook, viz., that the first element is O.N. *kelda*, a spring or well, which survives in modern northern dialects as *keld* or *kell*. Rygh (G.P., p. 158) notes the same possible alternatives in the explanation of some Norwegian place-names.¹

KNARESDALE. 1236-45 Swinb. *Cnaresdale*; 1255 Ass. *Gnaresdale*; 1266 Pipe *Cnaresdale*; 1291 Tax. *Knaresdale*; 1306 R.P.D. *Knaresdale*; 1325 Ipm. *Knaresdale*.

Hodgson (II., 3, 78) says that the place "has . . . the name from the Knar, a rough mountain torrent, which intersects the western portion of it from west to east." The torrent, however, is not the Knar but

¹ Since writing the above I find that Kelloe (co. Durham), whose early forms are for the most part identical with those of Kellah has a 12th cent. form *Celflawe* = calf-hill. Possibly that is the origin of Kellah also.

the Knar Burn, and that would seem to take its name from Knar farm on its banks. The name is probably of Scandinavian origin—*Knardal* and *Knarredalen* being of frequent occurrence in Norway (Rygh., G.P., pp. 162-3, but Rygh is unable to explain their origin. It is difficult to explain the first element as a personal name, as that would not explain the neighbouring *Knar*, and it is clearly not the same as in *Knaresborough* (Moorman, p. 118), for there is no form in *d* such as *Cnardesburc* which would allow of its connexion with O.E. *Cenward*. Rygh (N.G. I., 199) in commenting on the Norwegian place-names *Knarberg*, *Knarlag*, *Knarvik*, etc., suggests that the first element may be O.N. *knǫrr*, a large kind of ship, also used apparently of a piece of land or hill of that shape.

WHITWHAM (Knaresdale). 1316 Ipm. *Le Whitwhom*;
1344 Cl. *Wytquam*; 1364 Ipm. *Whitwham*; 1392
Ipm. *Wytwam*.

“White valley.” O.N. *hvammr*, used according to Rygh (Indl., p. 57) of a short valley or depression, surrounded by high ground, but in such a way that there is an opening on one of the sides.

Derwent Valley :—

ESPER SHIELDS. 1268. Ipm. *Esperscheles*.

The first element in this name may be the same as that found in the Norwegian *Espervik*, which Rygh explains as being an old genitive of O.N. *ǫsp*, an aspen-tree. If so, it means the “shiels of (or by) the aspen-tree.” It might also be O.N. *aspir*, pl. of *ǫsp*, with late substitution of the ordinary Northumbrian *esp* (< O.E. *æspe*) for Scandinavian *asp*. In that case it means “the shiels by the aspen-trees.” There is a place in co. Durham called Esperley, of which an early form (1230) is *Esperdeslegh*. The first element here is apparently a personal name *Esperd*, otherwise unknown, probably standing for earlier **Aespheard* (cf.

Aesc-heard). *Esperscheles* may be for earlier *Esperdescheles*, with loss of unstressed syllable and of *d* from the consonant group *dsch*. If so, it is not an example of Scandinavian influence.

WASKERLEY (Shotley). 1262 Ipm. *Waskerley*; 1292 Q.W. *Waskerleye*; 1312 Q.W. *Waskreley*.

See *Essays and Studies*, u.s., p. 69.

Hexhamshire :—

DOTLAND. 1154-67, Richard of Hexham, *Dotoland*; 1226 B.B.H. 93 *Doteland*; 1287 B.B.H. 104 *Dotte-land*; 1355 B.B.H. 140 *Dodland*; 1479 B.B.H. *Dot(e)land*.

The first element may be the Scandinavian woman's name *Dótt*a, which is found independently (Lind., s.v.) and also in several place-names (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., 58-9). The usual spelling with single *t* may, however, point rather to the name *Dot* or *Dotus*, found in D.B., which Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 29) attempts to explain. He compares the O.Sw. place-name *Dotabotha*, possibly going back to a name **Dote*. There is also an Old Swedish and Old Danish woman's name *Dota*. Björkman suggests, as an alternative explanation, that it may be originally a nickname, perhaps given with the meaning of the Norwegian dialectal *dote*, viz., a dull-witted person.

ESHELLS. c. 1160 Gray 275 n, *Eskeinggeseles*; c. 1225 B.B.H. 90 *Eskilescales*, *Eskingseles*; 1226 B.B.H. 94 *Eskinschell*.

The second element in this name is the common Northumbrian *shiels*, "shelters, sheds for summer pasturage." The form *-scales* shows the influence of the corresponding Scandinavian word *scales* (O.N. *skáli*, a hut). The correct form of the first element it is difficult to determine. The only theory which could possibly explain all the forms alike would be that which said that

the first element is the O.N. personal name *Asketill*. This is found in English in the form *Askill*, *Askell* or *Eskill*. Side by side with this there is a well-established form, *Asketinus*, in M.E. documents (v. Björkman, N.P., p. 17). This may well have been shortened to *Askin* or *Eskin*.¹ The name would then have been the "shields" or "scales" belonging to *Asketill* or *Asketin*. *Esking-* might then be a mistake for *Eskin-*, the unfamiliar suffix *-in* being replaced by the patronymic *-ing*. Another possibility is to take *Esking-* as a compound of O.N. *eski*, ash-tree, and *eng*, an "ing," grassland. *Esking-* would then mean the "grass-land with ash-trees on it." *Esking* would in M.E. place-names often be written *Eskin*. The form *Eskil-* must then be explained as due to the common mistake of anticipating the *l* which is to come later in the word.

In various parts of the country.

NEWBIGGIN BY THE SEA. 1268 Ipm. *Neubigging*.

NEWBIGGIN BY BLANCHLAND. 1262 Ipm. *Neubiggyng*.

NEWBIGGIN BY NORHAM. 14th cent. B.B. *Newbinginga*
B. *Newburga*, C. *Newbinga*.

NEWBIGGIN IN HEXHAMSHIRE. 1344 Pat. *Neubyggyng*.

NEWBIGGIN HALL (Kenton). 1216-1307 Testa. *Neubiging*.

The "new building." O.W.Sc. *bygging*, a building, M.E. *bigginge*, and N.E. dialectal English *biggin(g)* (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words*, pp. 32-3). Considering the comparative rarity of place-names in Northumberland which are of Scandinavian origin, it is remarkable to find so many examples of the name *Newbiggin*, which is of somewhat infrequent occurrence in counties with a much larger proportion of place-names of Scandinavian origin.

¹ The O.Dan. name *Eskin*, (Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*), p. 22 may be that same name.

In summarising the evidence for Scandinavian settlements in Northumberland to be drawn from the place-names found in M.E. documents we may note the following points :—

(1) That there are very few examples in this county of those place-name suffixes most commonly associated with Scandinavian settlements. There is no *-thwaite*, *-lund*, *-with*, *-beck*, *-holm* or *-garth*, only one *-toft*, dating from the 14th century, and a single example of *-by*, not to be found on the present-day map. There are, however, a considerable number of place-names in *-ker*, and the name *Newbiggin* is of remarkably frequent occurrence. Indeed, there are more *Newbiggins* in Northumberland than in any other English county. The absence of place-names in *-garth*, *-thwaite*, *-toft*, *-by* would seem to indicate that there can never at any time have been any regular settlement of the whole district, any division of the whole territory among an organised band of settlers. The prevalence of *-bigging* might at first sight seem to contradict this idea, but the word *biggin* is in common dialectal use in Northumberland for a building, and it is perhaps significant that all the *biggins* are labelled "new." The majority of the place-names of Scandinavian origin either contain some personal name of Norse origin or they contain some Norse element commonly found in the local dialect. This latter statement is true of those containing *keld*, *crook*, *carr*, *flat*, *bing*, *haining*, *biggin*. Indeed, one noticeable feature of the Northumbrian dialect is that it contains a far larger proportion of Scandinavian words than the evidence of either history or archæology would lead us to expect, and it is to be suspected that a good many of them are of comparatively recent importation into that district, coming from districts to the west and south where Scandinavian influence is stronger.

(2) That the settlements are rather markedly confined to the river-valleys and to the immediate neighbourhood

of the coast, a distribution very different from that in the Danelagh generally, and pointing again to isolated settlements rather than to any regular partition of the whole area.

The modern map yields some few additional points of interest. Along the coast we have a series of *skerrs* or rocky islets which must owe their name to O.N. *skiær*, "an isolated rock"; near to Long Houghton there is a stretch of rock bearing the curious name *Bondi Carr*. The second element is Celtic, but the first looks as if it might possibly be the familiar *bóndi*, "a peasant or farmer." Down by the coast at Warkworth there is a level stretch known as the Skaith (O.N. *skeið*, with various meanings, *cf.* Wickham Skaith, Suff.), and near to Monkseaton there is a small island, now called St. Mary's Island, or Bait Island, of which the earlier name (16th cent.) was St. Helen's Baits. This must certainly be connected with O.N. *beit*: if it is used in the sense of "fish-bait" the plural is strange, if, on the other hand, it means "pasturage," the name can only have been given in irony, for St. Mary's Island is nothing but a stretch of barren rocks. These names do not point so much to settlements as to the influence of Scandinavian seafarers, and it is worth noting in this connexion that there is a tradition of a considerable Scandinavian settlement at Tynemouth, a tradition which is to some extent borne out by the evidence of personal names occurring in mediæval documents relating to that town.

Inland we find a few more *Newbiggins*, and one or two *Holmes*, but it should be pointed out that it is not always certain that *holm* may not be a dialectal form of *hollin* or holly. The element *Kip*, found more than once in such names as *Kiphill*, *Kiplaw*, would seem to be the dialectal *kip*, "a large overgrown calf," which must itself be connected with O.Dan. *kíp* (Kalkar, *s.v.*) and Sw. *kibb* (Rietz., *s.v.*), used with the same meaning. Silliway, near Langley, probably contains O.N.

vrá, "a corner," and means "the corner where the willows grow." Carlcroft in Alwinton is noteworthy because there are no Carltons in the county (*cf.* Charlton in Tynedale and Charlton near Bamburgh) while Gair Shiel in Hexhamshire contains the common dialectal word *gair*, meaning a triangular piece of land, from O.N. *geir*. In the high lands to the west and south of the county *fell*, *grain* and *sike* are in regular use, and except for the absence of *becks*, place-nomenclature is much the same on either side of the Pennine slopes.

In turning to county Durham it will be well, as before, to deal first with those names found in medieval documents. The names are arranged in alphabetical order.

ASLABY-ON-TEES. 1225-9 Att. Test. *Askelby*; 1311 R.P.D. *Aselackeby*; 1313 R.P.D. *Aslakeby*; 1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Aslagby*; 1344 R.P.D. *Aslagby*, *Aslakby*.

The suffix *-by* is the common Scandinavian termination. If the first form is not a metathetical spelling due to the scribe, the original name was the *by* of *Askell* or *Asketill* (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., p. 17, Björkman, N.P., pp. 16-20). The second form points to the name *Aslacr* (*cf.* O.E. *Oslac*) as the first element, with a tendency to voice the *k* before following *b* (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., p. 17, Björkman, N.P., p. 20), *cf.* *Aslacton*, Norf. (D.B. *Aslaketuna*), *Aslackby*, Lincs. (D.B. *Aslachebi*).

AMERSTON HALL (nr. Embleton). 1320 Cl. *Aymundeston*.

The *tun* or farmstead of a man bearing the Norse name *Eymundr*, later *Emundr* (Rygh, G.P., p. 65), *cf.* *Amotherby* (Yo.), of which an earlier form is *Aymunderby*. The *rs* in the modern form may be due to a confusion of the genuine Norse gen. *Eymundar* found in *Amotherby* with the anglicised gen. *Aymundes*.

BLAKESTON HILL (Norton). 1099-1128 D.S.T. xxx.
Bleikestuna; 1100-35 F.P.D. n. *Bleichestona*; 1203
 R.C. *Blakestone*; 1300 Ch. *Blaicheston*; 1335 Ch.
Blakeston; 1345 R.P.D. *Blaykeston*.

The above spellings leave no doubt that the first element is the O.N. *bleikr*, pale. This is not recorded as an independent name, but is common as a nickname, and has maintained itself in the English personal name Blake. The name means the farmstead of a man named or nicknamed *Bleikr*. Lindkvist (p. 25) notes the name of a person called *Alanus Bleik* in the Coucher Book of Selby Abbey (13th cent.?).

BRANCEPETH. 1085 D.S.T. xx. *Brentespethe*; 1131
 F.P.D. n. *Brauncepath*; 1155 F.P.D. n. *Brandes-*
pethe; 1254 D.S.T. lxxxiii. *Branspath*; 1311
 R.P.D. *Braundespath*; 1316 R.P.D. *Braunce-*
path.

The "peth" or path of a man named Brand. The name is probably of Scandinavian origin, for beyond one occurrence in a Saxon genealogy the name is not found in Old English documents before the 11th century, whereas the name *Brandr* was very common in Iceland and other Scandinavian lands. The distribution of English place-names containing this element also favours their Scandinavian origin. Branceholm and Brauncedale (Yo.), Branston (Lincs.), Brandiston (Norf.), Bransby and Brauncewell (Lincs). See also Björkman, Z.A.N., p. 27.

BRUNTOFT (nr. Wynyard). 1304 Cl. *Bruntoft*.

The second element is the common Scandinavian suffix meaning a clearing: the first is probably the word *burn*, a stream. This often undergoes metathesis in compounds, cf. Brunton (in Embleton) and Brunton (nr. Newcastle) in Northumberland, of which the earlier form is *Burneton*. Lindkvist (p. 214) favours the derivation from O.W.Scand. *brunnr*, a spring or fountain, but the example of *Brunton* makes this unnecessary.

CARLBURY (Coniscliffe) 1271 Ch. *Carlesburi*; 1313 R.P.D. *Carlebury*; 1340 R.P.D. *Carlbury*.

The form is from the dative of O.E. *Ceorles burh* or *Ceorla burh*, the *burh* of the *ceorl* or *ceorls*, with substitution of Scandinavian Carl (O.N. *kärkr*, a man) for English *ceorl*. cf. Charlbury (Oxf.).

CARLTON. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Carltun*; 1307 R.P.D. *Carleton*.

The *tun* of the Scandinavian *carls*: the equivalent of the native English Charlton. The English and Scandinavian forms are both widely distributed in England. The Scandinavian forms are specially frequent in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.

CLAXTON GRANGE (nr. Greatham). 1091 F.P.D. lvxxxii. *Clackestona*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Claxton*.

The *tun* of a man named *Klakkkr*. The name is of common occurrence in place-names in the Danelagh. cf. Claxton (Norf., D.B., *Clakestona*), Long Clawson (Leic., D.B., *Clachestane*).

CONISCLIFFE. c. 1035 H.S.C. *Cingceslife*; 1263 R.C. *Cunesclive*; 1271 Ch. *Cunesclive*; 1306 Cl. *Conesclive*; 1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Conysclive*; 1336 Ipm. *Consclif*; 1345 R.P.D. *Conesclif*; 1507 D.S.T. ccccv. *Cunyngsclif*.

"King's cliff." This name would seem to have been originally purely English, to judge from the form found in the History of St. Cuthbert—O.E. *c(yn)inges clif*, but the later spellings point to the influence of O.N. *konungr*; cf. the history of Conisborough (Moorman, p. 49), Coniston (*ib.* pp. 49 and 50), Conishead and Coniston (Wyld, pp. 98-9), Conisholme (Lincs., D.B., *Coningesholm*).

COPELAND HOUSE (West Auckland). 1104-8 S.D. *Copland*; 1313 R.P.D. *Coupland*; 1340 R.P.D. *Coupe-land*.

For the history of this name v. Coupland (Nthb.) *supra*.

COWPEN BEWLEY. 1203 R.C. *Cupum*; 1335 Ch. *Cupum*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxcvi. *Coupon*.

v. Cowpen (Nthb.) *supra*.

CRAWCROOK. 14th cent. B.B. *Craucrok*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Cranwecrok* (*sic*).

"Crow's crook." O.E. *crāwa*, a crow, + O.N. *krókr*, a crook or winding. The place may have been so named because haunted by crows, or from a man (or woman) whose name or nickname was "Crow." cf. *Crawe*, a woman's name (Searle) and the modern surname *Crow*.

CROOK. 1267 F.P.D. n. *Cruketona*; 1304 Cl. *Crok*; 1312 R.P.D. *Crok*; 14th cent. B.B. *Cruktona*, *Croketon*.

O.N. *krókr*, a crook, a winding, a nook. In Boldon Book the place is known as "the town by the crook," later it is called simply "the crook." The town may be so called because it is on one of the bends or nooks in the winding course of the Beechburn.

CROXDALE (Spennymoor). 1214 D.S.T. 36 *Croxstayl*; 1335 Ch. *Crokestail*.

The first element is the O.N. personal name *Krókr* (cf. Wyld, p. 105, Croxteth). The second element, as shown by the spelling in M.E., is not the ordinary English *dale* but the O.W.Scand. *deill*, "a share, allotment or portion of land." The existence of this word in English field-names has been clearly proved by Lindkvist (pp. 30-55), where an exhaustive and interesting account of its history is given, and numerous examples of its use are quoted from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. None of the examples given have survived on the modern map, and Lindkvist has no mention of Croxdale.

DURHAM. 1191, Feet of Fines, *Dunolm*, *Donelme*; 1227 Ch. *Dunholm*; 1231 Ch. *Durham*; 1313-8 Ch. *Durham*, *Durem*, *Duresme*; 1343-6 Ch. *Dunolm*.

The old name of Durham was *Dūn-holmr*, a compound of O.E. *dūn*, a hill (of Celtic origin), and O.N. *holmr*, an island, hence "the hill island," a name aptly descriptive of the site of ancient Durham, on high ground within a loop of the River Wear, whose two ends very nearly meet. The modern form is probably due to Anglo-Norman influence.

DYANCE (nr. Killerby). 1207 F.P.D. n. *Diendes*.

A difficult name; the first element may possibly be O.N. *dý*, "a bog," cf. Rygh, Indl., p. 30.

FELLING. 1325 F.P.D. n. *Felling*; 1434 F.P.D. *Fellyng*.

"The meadow or grassland below the fell," O.N. *fjall*, mountain, and *eng*, grassland. The word *ing* is in common use in Mod. English dialect. The name aptly described the position of Felling, which stands on the ground sloping down from Gateshead Fell to the Tyne Valley.

FOLLINGSBY. Type I. 1133-40 F.P.D. n. *Foletesbi*; 1153-95 F.P.D. n. *Foleteby*, *Folesceby*; 1203 Cart. Johan. Regis. *Foletteby*; 1217-26 F.P.D. n. *Folasceby*; 1352 Ch. *Folethebi*. Type II. 1416 F.P.D. n. *Folaunceby*; 1430 F.P.D. *Folanceby*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxci. *Folaunceby*.

The explanation of Type I. would seem to go with that of Fulletby (Lincs.) of which the D.B. forms are *Folesbi*, *Fullobi*, while those in the Lincolnshire Survey (c. 1100), which usually gives Scandinavian names more correctly, are *Fuletebi*, *Fuledebi*. Here the first element would seem to be a personal name of the same type as O.N. *Hasliði*, *Sumarliði*, *Vetrliði*. The second of these names is common as the name of Scandinavian settlers in England, in the form *Sumerled*, and forms the first element in Somersby, and in three Somerbys in Lincolnshire, and in Somerleyton in Suffolk. No name *Fulliði* is recorded in Old Norse, but there is an

adjective *full-liða*, meaning "well provided with troops," "fully able" (v. Vigfusson and Fritzner, s.v.), and this name, used first as a nickname, may well have given rise to a personal name *Fulliði* (cf. Selaby *infra*). The forms *Foletes-* and *Folesce-* are due to Anglicising of the name and its being given a gen. sg. in *-s*. Type II. is difficult of explanation, but as it belongs to the 15th century it stands quite apart from any question of further Scandinavian influence.

FULTHORPE (Wynyard). 1311 Cart. Bp. K. *Fulthorp*;
1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Foulthorp*.

"Foul or dirty village." For the use of *thorp* v. *infra*.

HAINING (Houghton-le-Spring). 1401 D.S.T. exc.
Haynyng.

See Haining (Nthb.) *supra*.

HOLME HILL (Muggleswick). 1446 D.S.T. ccxiv. *le Holme*.

The common M.E. *holme* (O.N. *holmr*), an island or peninsula.

HUTTON HENRY. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Hotun*; 1307 R.P.D. *Hoton*; 14th cent. B.B. *Hotona*, *Hotton*; 1430 F.P.D. *Huton*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxcv. *Hoton*.

The first element in this name may be O.W.Scand. *hór*, a phonetic variant of *hár*, meaning "high," which is discussed by Lindkvist (p. 224). This element is to be found in Huby (Lincs.) possibly also in Hoby (Lincs.), and in Huttoft (Lincs.), (v. Lindkvist *loc. cit.* and p. 218). Lindkvist's warning that places with *Hotun* in M.E. may go back to O.E. *hō(h)*, heel, projecting ridge of land, is probably not necessary in this case. There is no trace of a medial *h* in the M.E. spellings such as we regularly find in Houghton-le-Spring in the same county, which undoubtedly goes back to O.E. *Hōh-tūn*.

KILLERBY. 1091 F.P.D. lxxxii. *Culuerdebi*; 1197 Pipe *Culuerdebi*; 1207 F.P.D. *Kiluerdebi*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Kyllewardby*; 14th cent. B.B. *Killirby*, *Kylwerby*; 1435 D.S.T. ccvli. *Killerby*.

The explanation of this place-name must go with that of Kilverstone (Norf. D.B. *Culverttestuna*), Kilwardby (Lincs. Surv. 1100 *Culverteb'*) and Killerby (Yo.) For the forms of the last *v.* Björkman, Z.A.N., p. 54. The first element is a personal name, probably of hybrid origin. The first element in the name is O.N. *Ketill*, which often gives an O.E. form *Cytel*, and the second the common English suffix *-weard* (cf. *Ed-ward*). The full O.N. form *Ketilvaðr* is not found (*v.* Björkman, p. 81).

LUMLEY. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Lummalea*; 1196 Finch. *Lumleia*; 1304 Cl. *Lomelay*.

For the history of this name *v.* *Essays and Studies*, u.s., p. 64.

OUSTERLEY FIELD. 1382 Hatf. *Oustre*, *Oustrefeld*.

The history of this name is similar to that of Austerfield (Yo.), which Moorman (p. 14) explains as from O.N. *austr*, east, + "field."

OUSTON (nr. Birtley).

Surtees (Vol. 2, pp. 126 and 192) gives early forms, *Ulkilstan* and *villa Ulkilli*, showing that the history of this name is the same as that of Ouston in Stamfordham in Northumberland (*v. supra*).

RABY. c. 1025 H.C.S. *Raby*; 1200 R.C. *Rabye*; 1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Raby*.

The second element is the common Scandinavian suffix *-by*, denoting a town, while the history of the first element is given by Lindkvist, pp. 188-9. He says that it is O.W.Scand. *rá*, a landmark. It is found in more than one Raby, and in Raydale and Raskelf in Yorkshire. As Lindkvist remarks, all of these names are capable of explanation from O.W.Scand. *rá* = a *roe*, but that alternative is unlikely. The old explana-

tion which connected these words with O.W.Scand. (*v*)*rú*, nook, corner, is stated by Lindkvist to be no longer tenable, as Scandinavian words commencing in *vr* show uniformly conservative tendencies in English, keeping the initial *v* long after it was dropped in W. Scandinavian itself.

RACEBY. 1344 (45th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records) *Raceby*.

In the absence of any form earlier than 1344 it is difficult to say with certainty what may be the origin of this name. Raithby (Lincs.) has early forms, *Reythesby*, *Raitheby*, which Lindkvist (p. 76) takes to contain an unrecorded O.W.Scand. *Hreiði*, a shortened form of *Hreiðulfr* or *Hreiðarr*. A form *Reythesby* with the gen. of the personal name might well develop to Raceby in later times.

RAINTON. c. 1125 F.P.D. xli. *Reinuntun*, *Reningtun*, *Reington*; 1135-54 Cart. Hy. ii. *Raintonam*; 1153-95 Cart. Ep. Hug. *Reiningtone*; 1185 F.P.D. n. *Reinintun*, *Renintun*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Reyn-ton*; 1228 Att. Test. *Reiningtone*; 1253 Ch. *Reignton*.

The forms for this place-name are practically the same as those for Rainton (Yorks.) (*v*. Lindkvist, p. 73), and Rennington (Nthb.). For the former Lindkvist suggests a patronymic formed from O.N *Hreinn*, while in a note on Rainhill in Lancs. (p. 74, n. 2) he quotes forms for the Durham Rainton, and suggests that the first element in both these names may be O.W.Scand. *rein*, a strip of land which forms the boundary of a tilled field or an estate (*v*. Björkman, Scand. Loan-words, p. 63), used in Norwegian dialect of a "long bank of earth or gravel." It seems, however, impossible to separate the history of the Durham and Yorkshire Raintons, and their history may be either that suggested by Lindkvist for the Yorkshire Rainton, or, more probably, that given above for the Northumberland Rennington.

RUMBY HILL. 1382 Hatf. *Ronundby*.

The M.E. form is probably a mistake for *Romundby*, the first element being the common O.N. name *Hrómundr*.

SADBERGE. 1154-89 Finch. *Satberga*; 1189 D.S.T. lix. *Sadberg*; 1214, Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Sathbergia*; 1176 Pipe *Sethberga*; 1234 Pat. *Sedberg*; 1338 Cl. *Sedberne*; 1307 R.P.D. *Sadberg*; 1318 Ch. *Seberge*, *Sedberga*; 1435 Pat. *Sadberg*.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about the vowel of the first element in this place-name. The same uncertainty is found in the case of the Yorkshire Sedbergh, but whereas the *e*-forms predominate there, in the Durham Sadberge the evidence inclines, if anything, to *a* as the original vowel. Sedbergh is commonly explained as from O.N. *set-berg*, "a hill whose top suggests a seat by its shape," and it is possible that this may be correct, though *t* is never found in any M.E. form. In Norwegian dialect the forms *sete* and *sata* are both alike used of a little flat place on a rock or hill-top, and this might account for the variation in vowel, the voicing of the *t* being due to the following voiced *b*. Another possible explanation is that the first element is O.N. *sáð*, "seed," used, according to Rygh (N.G. I., 346), as a nickname. The early spellings with *th* may possibly point to this, though they are capable of another explanation, and the variant vowel might be due to the influence of the cognate O.E. *sæd* > M.E. *sēd*. In any case the name is probably of Norse origin, as there was a "wapentake" of Sadberge, the only example of the use of that term north of the Tees.

SATLEY. 1228 Att. Test. *Sateley*; 1304 Cl. *Satley*; 1311 R.P.D. *Satteley*; 1312 R.P.D. *Satley*.

The first element in this word may be the O.N. *saata*, a haystack, which Rygh finds in more than one Norse place-name (cf. N.G., v. 276), the meaning being

"the meadow by the haystack." The first element might also be the Norw. dial. *seta*, *seta*, "a flat place on a rock, or the top of a hill," but this seems less likely.

SCHOOL AYCLIFFE. 14th cent. B.B. *Sculacle*; 1440 D.S.T. cccv. *Sculacley*.

So-called in distinction from Aycliffe, and probably named after its Norse owner, *Skúli*. cf. Scoulton (Norf. D.B. *Sculetuna*), Sculthorpe (*ib.* D.B. *Sculetorpa*). This *Skúli* may be the very *Scula* mentioned above (p. 173).

SELABY. 1197 Pipe *Selebi*; 1317 Cl. *Seletby*; 1322 Pat. *Seleteby*; 1335 Ipm. *Seletby*; 1336 Ipm. *Seletby*; 1460 Pat. *Seleby*.

The *-by* of a man bearing the O.N. name **Sæ-liði* = sea-goer, sailor. This name is not actually found, but names with *Sæ-* as the first element are common in O.N., and *Sæ-liði* is exactly equivalent to the name *Haf-liði* = ocean-goer, which is well established. *Sæ-liði* corresponds etymologically to the O.E. *sā-lida*, a word commonly used to describe a pirate. For the M.E. development of the name cf. Follingsby, *supra*.

SKERNE, R. 1402 F.P.D. *aqua de Skyryne*; 1430 *ib.* *Skeryn*.

It is impossible to separate this name from Skerne (Yo.), of which the D.B. form is *Schirne*, while other early forms are *Skiren*, *Skyryn*. The closest parallel to these is the Norse river name *Skirna* (near Trondhjem), which Rygh (*Norske Elvenavne*, p. 217) connects with *skirr*, clear, bright, *skirna*, to clear up, and *skirning* (a clearing), and the farm name, *Skjern*, in the same district, which Rygh says is named after a stream close to the farm.

SKIRNINGHAM. c. 1090 Hist. de Obs. Dunelm. *Skirningeheim*, *Skerningeim*; 1135-54 Cart. Hy II. *Schirningaham*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Skirningeham*.

"The homestead by the Skerne meadows." The element *-ing* is O.N. *engr*, "grass-land, meadow," and the early spellings in *heim* and *eim* point very clearly to O.N. *heimr* rather than O.E. *hām* as the earliest form of the final element. Place-names *Skjern* and *Skjerninge* are found in Denmark (Steenstrup, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-5), and we probably have the same name in Scarning (Norf. D.B. *Scerninga*). Whether the suffix has the same origin in all cases it is impossible to say.

SLINGLEY HALL (nr. Dalton-le-Dale). 1155 F.P.D. n. *Slingelawe*.

The first element in this word may be the proper name found also in the Yorkshire place-name *Slingsby*. The earlier form of that name is *Slingesby*, and Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 77) suggests that the first element is from a Norse nickname **Sløngr* or **Slengi*, comparing the modern Norw. dial. *sleng*, used of a growing youth and also of an idler. In Northern English dialect *to sling* is used in the sense "to go about idling, to sneak or slink about." Björkman suggests that this usage depends on Norse influence. The second element is O.E. *hlāw*, a hill, very often corrupted in N.E. to *-ley*, as if from O.E. *léah*.

STAINDROP. 1131 F.P.D. n. *Standrop*; 1135-54 Cart. Hy. II. *Steindrope*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Steindrope*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Stayndrop*.

The first element is O.N. *steinn*, stone or rock, a common element in place-nomenclature. The spellings with *stan* show the substitution of the common O.E. form *stān*; cf. Stainton and Stanton. The second element, *-drop*, is found in other place-names in England as a variant form of *þorþ*, due to metathesis and stopping of the continuant *þ*, e.g., Burdrop (Oxf.) and Soul-drop (Beds.), but the early and uniform appearance of the spelling *drop* would seem to forbid such an explanation in this case. Lindkvist (p. 84, n. 4) suggests that the second element is O.W.Scand. *dropi*, a

drop, or O.W.Scand. *drop*, Norw. dial. *drop*, a dropping, dripping: Staindrop lies in a valley on a small stream called Langley Beck.

STANTON, GREAT AND LITTLE. 1284 Finch. *Staynton*; 1308 Ch. *Staintuna*.

STANTON-LE-STREET. 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Staynton-in-Strata*; 1479 B.B.H. *Staynton-in-Strata*.

NUNSTANTON. 1387 D.S.T. clvii. *Nunstaynton*.

O.N. *steinn-tún* = stone-enclosure, the equivalent of English Stanton. For the question how far place-names of this type can be considered names of Scandinavian settlements v. Lindkvist, p. 83.

SWAINSTON (nr. Sedgefield). 1351 B.M. *Swayneston*.

"Swein's *tún*." This personal name is very common in place-names (v. Lindkvist, pp. 91-3). It is also found as *Swin-* in Swinford (Leic.), *Swine-* in Swineshurst (Lancs.), *Swan-* in Swanland (Yo.). There is a Swainston (I. of W.) containing this name: it is probably of comparatively late origin.

THORPE BY EASINGTON. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Thorep*; 1197 Pipe *Torp*.

THORPE BULMER. 1312 R.P.D. *Thorpebulmer*.

THORPE THEWLES. 1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Thorpe theules*. For the use of *thorp* v. *infra*.

THRISLINGTON HALL (Ferryhill). 1309 F.P.D. 66 n. *Thurstaneston*.

The *tún* or farm of *Thorsteinn*, a very common Scandinavian name in England. It is found in Thurstaston (Cheshire), Thurston End (Suff. D.B. *Thurstanestuna*), Thruxton (Norf. D.B. *Turstanestuna*), Thrussington (Leic. D.B. *Turstanestone*).

THROSTON. c. 1270 (List of knights at Lewes) *Thoreston*.

"Thorir's farm." cf. Rygh, G.P., p. 259.

ULNABY HALL (High Coniscliffe). Newm. *Uluenebi*;
1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Ulnaby*.

The *-by* or settlement of *Ulfheðinn*. This is a common Icelandic name, and from its use there Lindkvist concludes that it was already in use in Norway during the Viking period, though no example of its use earlier than 1300 has been preserved to us. A contracted form, *Vlfuen*, is found in a Norse document of 1411. It is probable that a similar contraction took place in England, giving the form *Vluenebi*.

USHAW. a. 1196. Finch. *Ulveskahe*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Uuesshaw*e; 1312 Pat. *Uuesshaw*e.

The first element is probably the O.N. name *Ulfr* (= O.E. *Wulf*), and the second the O.E. *sceaga*, a wood, hence the "wood of a man named *Ulfr*." The spelling *skahe* may be due to the influence of the corresponding Norse word *skógr*, a wood.

WHAM. 1315 R.P.D. *Northquwam*, *Qwhom*.
v. Whitwham (Nthb.) *supra*.

Taking a survey of the whole county, the number of names is of course absolutely smaller than in Northumberland, but in estimating the relative proportion we must bear in mind (1) that a much smaller proportion of the place-names of the whole county is preserved in mediæval documents in Durham than in Northumberland; (2) that the county has only one-half the area of co. Northumberland. Bearing these two points in mind, it is probable that there is relatively a much greater proportion of Scandinavian names in Durham. We have several clear examples of *-by*, some of *-ing*, *-toft*, and *-holm*, several containing the element *crook*, and the names are scattered fairly well over the county. Still, they are not so numerous as to suggest any definite partition. There does not seem to be any special prevalence of Scandinavian names even in those districts assigned by Rægeneald to his followers, Scula and

Onlafbeald, viz., from Castle Eden south to Billingham-in-Teesdale, and from Castle Eden north and west to the Wear.

In studying the modern map we find the continued use of Scar along the coast (*e.g.*, Long Scar), and Loom, by Easington, may well be the same as the familiar Norse place-name *Lóm*, dat. pl. of *Ló*, a word of somewhat uncertain meaning. Medieval documents show that Holmside and Butterby are no evidence for Scandinavian settlement. Holmside is from earlier *Holinside* (from M.E. *holen*, holly), and Butterby is *Beautrove* or *Beautrone* (the latter a blunder of the transcriber), meaning apparently "the well situated" (*beau trouvé*), a name which aptly describes the position of Butterby on the well-wooded winding banks of the Wear (*cf.* Bear Park in the immediate neighbourhood from earlier *Beau Repair*). Biggin and Newbiggin are fairly common, *garth* is occasionally used, there are many *holms* and a few *tofts*, *-mire* is fairly common, and so is *-carr*, *-ker*. Waskerley in the N.W. probably has the same history as in Northumberland, and so has Nafferton. In the high ground at the head of Wear-dale and Teesdale place-nomenclature is very largely Scandinavian: there are *fells*, *grains*, *sikes*, *becks* and *gills* in abundance, and it is much to be regretted that there is a great scarcity of early forms for these districts. Again, as in Northumberland, the great increase in the extreme west would seem to point to settlements from Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, rather than from the eastern side of the county, though it should be noted that *fell* is found as far east as Gateshead Fell and Low Fell. The use of *beck* is significant. The tributaries of Tyne and Wear are all called *burn*, except in the extreme west of the county, and here a name like *Beechburn Beck* shows that they are not all original. On the other hand the tributaries of the Tees are almost uniformly known as *beck*, even in the easternmost parts of the county.

Finally, a word must be said about two suffixes over which there has been a good deal of discussion in dealing with questions of Scandinavian influence, viz., *-dale* and *-thorp*. With regard to *dale*, this is the common word for a valley in Northumberland and Durham alike. From the time of the earliest records we hear of *Glendale*, *Coquetdale*, *Tynedale*, *Allendale*, *Redesdale*, *Weardale*, *Teesdale*, and as there is so little Scandinavian nomenclature in Northumberland, and not much in Durham, it seems safe to conclude that this use of *dale* is Anglian rather than Scandinavian, though it may have been extended under the influence of the later settlers. One piece of evidence in this connexion seems to have been overlooked. Dalton-le-Dale is called *Daltun* already in Bede's history, so that the use of the word in Anglian place-names is clearly established.

The case of *thorp* is more difficult. There are *thorps* in southern England in Bucks., Oxon. and other counties outside the sphere of Danish or Norse influence, but they are scattered and comparatively few in number. *Thorps* are abundant in East Anglia and Northern Mercia and in Yorkshire, just where Scandinavian influence is admittedly strongest. In Northumberland, the only two *thorps* are both in places where there seems to have been a small collection of Scandinavian settlements, while in Durham there are three *thorps*, all in those lands of St. Cuthbert which we know to have been at one time in the hands of Viking settlers. While not denying that *thorp* may often be of native origin, it seems to be fairly clear from the evidence of Northumberland and Durham that it is often a mark of Scandinavian settlement.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND HISTORICAL NOTES.

By A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot., *President.*

IT has been shown by professor Alexander Bugge and dr. Jakob Jakobsen that the Norse colonisation of the islands must have begun as early as, if not earlier than 700, to account for the primitive forms of Norse place-names and institutions which are to be found there and not in the later colonies in Iceland and elsewhere.¹ The place-names of Orkney and Shetland seem to indicate that the colonists came from western Norway. On the assumption that the *óðal*² succession of Gulathing-Law was in force at that time, we have, however, historical proof in the sagas that Orkney was colonised, at the latest, *circa* 664. When king Harald hárfagri fined the *bœndr* of Orkney, shortly after 893 (say 895), they were unable to pay him, whereupon earl Einar paid the fine on condition that the *bœndr* gave him their *óðul*, until they were able to redeem them. We have here these facts: (1) Orkney was in the possession of *óðalmenn*, and *óðal* law was in full force with its *lausn*, right of redemption; (2) it took five generations of continuous ownership of land to make it *óðal*; consequently (3) the youngest *óðal* family must have dated from the year 730 (*i.e.*, 895, less five generations of 33 years each). It is incredible that all these families began possession in the same year and exactly five generations before 895. We shall, therefore, be safe in allowing a minimum addition of two generations, or sixty-six years, to allow for the colonisation of the islands, which

¹ *Vesterlandenes Inflydelse paa Nordboernes*, A. Bugge. *Shetlandsøernes Stednavne*, J. Jakobsen.

² *óðal*, pl. *óðul*, property held in allodial tenure.

would thus have begun at the latest *circa* 664.¹ The later colonisation of Iceland was effected in some fifty years, but this settlement arose from a definite political cause in the lifetime of one man, Harald hárfagri.

According to the accepted chronology, the Norsemen made their first appearance in England in 787, and in the west of Scotland and Ireland in 795. Orkney and Shetland, being the nearest western land to Norway, would be first visited. From 565, the time when Orkney and Shetland were Christianised, three generations, or ninety-nine years, would be ample time to account for the Pictish ecclesiastical monuments of which the remains have been found. It was only some fifty years after the Norsemen in Orkney were converted themselves that their earl made a pilgrimage to Rome and built a cathedral.

It has been contended that the first Norse settlers found the islands without inhabitants, because the sagas make no mention of any having been found there. But the sagas only commence with the history of the islands at the time the earldom was founded in 872, nearly two centuries after their colonisation which is not referred to at all. It is incredible that the Pictish ecclesiastical buildings, of which the remains have been found, could have been erected, utilised and abandoned and the islands deserted in the short space of a hundred years or even less.

The total absence of any record or tradition regarding the first arrival of the Norsemen in Orkney, and the continued presence of the Picts, as is shown by the survival of their place-names and church dedications, appear to indicate that the first colonisation by the vikings was gradual and peaceful, that they intermarried with the Picts, as they did later on with the Irish in Ireland, and that perhaps Christianity never

¹ The colonisation of Shetland has been already dated, 620 (Ud. N.H., ii., 10, quoting Otto Bremer: *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, § 119).

entirely died out in the islands. The latter supposition, if correct, may account for the ease with which the vikings ultimately became Christians.

Although no anthropological survey has yet been made in the islands, it would not be surprising if such a survey should reveal Pictish features coinciding, even after all these twelve centuries, with the districts preserving Pictish place-names, presumably the inland and inaccessible places, as is the case in the Isle of Man.

The comparatively small number of Pictish place-names in the islands must be accounted for by the predominance of the Norsemen, whose language would have been consequently adopted by the Picts. Many so-called Norse place-names may be unrecognisable glosses of Pictish names. The name Orkney itself is a gloss of a Pictish name, and so also probably is Shetland.¹ If the names of the two groups themselves are not of Norse origin, and only clothed in Norse garments, what may not be the names of the lesser islands and places?

The persistency of Norse, as compared with Pictish place-names is well illustrated in the Hebrides, where the population, during the Norse period and until their cession to Scotland in 1266, was probably bilingual, the Gaels and the Norse each speaking their own language. Since the cession to Scotland, after which the rulers were no longer appointed by or under Norway, political influences very quickly made the Norsemen adopt the Gaelic language. And yet after all these centuries, since the extinction of the Norse language, Norse place-names still flourish with but a very slight Gaelic tinge. Moreover, there are many Norse loan-words in Gaelic, whereas there are very few Gaelic loan-words in Scandinavian.

The second migration from Norway to Orkney took place after king Harald hárfagri began to consolidate Norway into one kingdom, 860-933; during which

¹ *Old-Lore Miscellany* (Viking Society), v., 14, 104-8, vi., 10-19, 74.

period Iceland was colonised. He conquered Orkney and Shetland, and erected them into an earldom in 872. The first colonists no doubt took their Norwegian laws and form of government with them, and these would naturally have been conformed to Harald's new Norwegian constitution, when he founded the earldom.

It is stated in *Heimskringla* that Iceland and Faroe were discovered and peopled during Harald's reign, and that there was also much faring of Northmen to Shetland, and further, that many mighty men of Norway fled as outlaws and fell to warring in the west, spending the winter in the Hebrides and Orkney, and the summer in raiding Norway. It is also stated that before Harald's time, Orkney had been the haunt of vikings (*vikingabæli*). The special reference to the faring of Norwegians to Shetland and not to Orkney, in Harald's reign, appears to indicate that Shetland had not been previously so fully colonised as Orkney. This surmise appears to be supported by the researches of dr. Jakobsen, who has found older forms of place-names in Orkney than in Shetland.

The earliest Scandinavian literature consists of runic inscriptions. Writing began in Norway in the middle of the eleventh century, with the taking down of the hitherto oral code of laws, known as *Grágás*, a work now lost. In Iceland the laws were taken down in 1118, which was followed by the recording of the oral sagas. The oral Edda lays are supposed to have been taken down in the twelfth century.

There can be little doubt that the adoption of Christianity by the Norse, *circa* 1000, with its written scriptures and missals, set the fashion of writing; not to forget the great and uncongenial burden it would have been on the lawsayingmen to be suddenly called upon to add to their memory the voluminous new laws dealing with the establishment of Christianity.

As regards Orkney and Shetland we may therefore assume that their laws were written down at the same

time as they were in Norway, and also at the instigation of king St. Ólaf, the great apostle of Christianity in the north; if indeed his code itself was not actually adopted by or imposed upon the islands, which seems more probable.

From the middle of the twelfth century we find the Orkney earl St. Rögnvald, and, after him, the Orkney bishop Biarni, the skald, both expert poets, busy at work with Icelandic skalds, and we have some of their literature preserved. It was during this period that the Edda lays are supposed to have been taken down, and, as some of them have a local setting, it is not improbable that some, at least, may have been rescued from the mouths of Orkneymen and Shetlanders. It is significant that many Edda poetic words are now alone in use, as seanames, in Shetland.¹ Professor Sophus Bugge was of opinion that the lays were composed in the British Isles, in proximity to Christian influence.² Such of these lays as may have been composed in Britain *before* 787-795, when the Norsemen *first* appeared in the west of Scotland, Ireland and England, could only have been composed in Orkney, where, it has been shown, the Norse arrived *circa* 664, and lived among the Christian Picts, but it appears to be generally agreed now, that none of the lays could have been composed earlier than the ninth century.

In common with other Norse places, Orkney and Shetland had their sagas and poems. There are the sagas of the earls, 872-1206, which were taken down in writing and brought up to date in 1206. The following list of works is compiled from *Orkneyinga Saga*, unless where otherwise stated:—*Fundinn Noregr*, mythical. *Jarla-sögur*, made up of what must have been separate sagas of individual earls. *Rögnvaldsdrápa*, and *Porfinnsdrápa*, by Arnórr jarlaskáld (partly in saga

¹ Scot. Hist. Rev. IX., 148. ² *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899. Gudbrand Vigfússon was the first to suggest that the lays were composed in the British Isles.

and partly in Snorra Edda), written in 1046-1064.¹ *Þáttr Magnúss jarls*. *Hákon Pálssons drápa*, mentioned. *Vísur* about Hákon Pálsson and Magnús Erlendsson, mentioned. *Þáttr Páls jarls*. *Jarteina bók*. *Þáttr Rögnvalds jarls*, which may also be called *Sveins saga*. *Háttalykill*, by earl Rögnvald, mentioned, but preserved in Stockholm. *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði*, by bishop Biarni, not mentioned in the saga, but preserved in Codex Regius of Snorra Edda (see *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*). *Magnúss saga helga* or *Magnúss saga eyja-jarls*: (1) *Magnúss saga hin lengri*, (2) *Magnúss saga hin skamma*, (3) *Legenda de sancto Magno* (six pieces).

The difference between Icelandic and Orkney saga is that the former describes personal and family feuds and litigations, whereas the latter is almost solely concerned with genuine viking life. Iceland was too detached for viking cruises, but Orkney was an ideal striking point for sea-rovers. As a matter of fact the best saga of the Orkney collection is that which treats of Svein of Gairsey, the last of the vikings. He kept a bodyguard of eighty *húskarlar*. Each year, after seed time, he went on a *vár*, spring, viking, and then returned for harvest, after which he went on a *haust*, autumn, viking, and returned home to spend the winter on his spoils. On one occasion he captured two English keels off Dublin, laden with English cloth. On his return journey he sewed some of the captured cloth on his sails, so that they appeared as though they were entirely made of that material, and hence this viking was called *skrúðviking*; *skrúð* is used in old Norse for finery, and, in this instance, has been translated *broadcloth* by sir George Dasent, but, in accordance with Fritzner, it should be, *þragtfuldt vikingetog*, gorgeous viking expedition.² As an instance of

¹ Arnórr was an Icelander, resident in Orkney, where he composed these poems on the two earls, and hence he was nicknamed *jarlaskáld*.

² In Goudie's translation of the saga this meaning has also been correctly given.

Svein's fine feeling and generosity may be mentioned the capture of earl Rögnvald's ships by earl Erlend and Svein, when Svein claimed, as his share of the spoil, all earl Rögnvald's treasures, which he straightway sent back to earl Rögnvald. Earl Rögnvald had only just returned from his famous pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He afterwards became one of earl Rögnvald's *hirðmenn* or bodyguard, and in the end fell, ambushed, in his last viking, in Ireland. The saga fittingly ends with the following tribute to Svein: "There now is an end of telling about Svein; and it is the talk of men that he hath been the greatest man in the western lands, both of yore and now-a-days, of those men who had no higher rank¹ than he." Svein set the splendid example of continuing one's life work to the end in harness.

At the time of the conclusion of the Orkney saga, *circa* 1206, the male line of the Norse earls, already half Scottish, came to an end, having lasted only some three centuries; and was succeeded, in the female line, by four lines of Scottish earls, the Athole, Angus, Strathearn and St. Clair families, 1206-1470.

The Norwegian crown passed through a female to a Swedish line of kings, which reigned from 1319 to 1387; and then, after the treaty of Kalmar, when Norway, Denmark and Sweden were united in one kingdom, the crown passed to a Danish line, which was reigning in 1468-9, when Orkney and Shetland were wadset or pawned to Scotland, in security for the dowry of the queen of king James III. of Scotland.

The succession of the Scottish earls in the thirteenth century, and of the Swedish and Danish kings in the fourteenth century, with their foreign influence, must account for the complete break in the insular literature, which was thereafter confined to complaints about Scottish and other interference in insular affairs.

¹ON. *tignar-nafn*, name and rank which raised one above the common *bóndi*.

The residence of the crown in Denmark, with the influx of Danish officials and place-men in Norway, very quickly established the Danish language in Norway, so that, by 1450, Norwegian as a national language came to an end,¹ and, *circa* 1530, the Norwegian laws had to be translated into Danish. In Norway this resulted in the complete disappearance of Norwegian literature, which is only represented by charters.

After the transference of Orkney and Shetland to Scotland, in 1468-9, the Scottish crown acquired the earldom (*i.e.*, the earl's rule, title, the public revenues and the earldom landed estate), from the last Norse earl, William St. Clair, and thereafter appointed its own Scottish rulers. In 1472, the bishopric of Orkney and Shetland was transferred, by Papal bull, from the metropolitan see of Trondhjem to the newly created metropolitan see of St. Andrews in Scotland. In 1486, Kirkwall was erected into a Scottish royal burgh. In 1490, the bishopric was erected into a Scottish regality, with Scottish civil courts and officers. In 1602, we have the last mention of a judicial reference to the Norse law-book of the islands,² since when Scottish law has prevailed.

The succession of the Scottish earls, with their Scottish kin and retainers, transformed the islands into a sanctuary for Scottish fugitives and adventurers. Scottish fashions, habits and language soon took a hold on Orkney, the seat of government, which was also nearer to Scotland than Shetland was.

The latest known Norse charter in Orkney is dated 1329,³ and the latest Norse document *circa* 1426,⁴ a

¹ *Norges Historie*, IV.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*, 6-7.

³ D.N., ii., 144.

⁴ D.N., ii., 514. But this cannot be the Orkney dialect of the period, as its vocabulary is mixed, and probably represents a sort of court or chancery language for the three kingdoms of the Union.

complaint to the king of Denmark against a Scotsman who was then ruler of the islands. In Shetland, Norse charters occur as late as the seventeenth century, and towards the end of the sixteenth century it is related that a Shetland clergyman went to Norway to learn [or rather to perfect himself in] Norwegian, as the Shetlanders knew no other language, and he so acquired the nickname of "Norsk."¹ We have Orkney charters in Scottish in 1433² and after, and in 1438 the lawman of Orkney gave his testimony in Scottish.³

If the insular literature is mainly confined to complaints during the rule of the Scoto-Norse earls, it is still more so after the transference of the islands to Scotland, when the position became one of "out of the frying pan into the fire." This was accentuated by the strenuous efforts, made by the Scottish government, to render the redemption of the islands by Norway as difficult as possible. The outstanding document in the literature of this period is the report of the royal commission, appointed in 1576, to take evidence regarding the alleged oppressions of the Scottish ruler, lord Robert Stewart,⁴ an illegitimate son of king James V. He was, however, afterwards made earl of Orkney, contrary to the act of Scottish parliament, by which the title of earl of Orkney was annexed to the crown, not to be conferred on anyone but a legitimate son of the sovereign.

The survival of Norse words and legal terms in Orkney deeds indicates a state of corruption which renders some of them almost unrecognisable.

Norse, as the language of the earl's court in Orkney, probably terminated with the succession of the St. Clair line in 1379, if not already with the termination of the Angus line in 1320, as the last known Norse deed in Orkney, in 1329,⁵ is that of the countess of the last

¹ *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, iii., 441. ² O. S. R., I., 246. ³ *ib.* 44.

⁴ Opp. O.Z.

⁵ D.N., ii., 144.

earl of that line. As a dialect Norse, called Norn, continued in corners of the islands until the eighteenth century.

One unfortunate result of the change of language from Norse to Scottish has been the extinction of Norse ballad and music, one going with the other. A few relics have been preserved, and it has been noted that the "Arrow Lay," Gray's "Fatal Sisters," was recited in Norse in Orkney as late as the eighteenth century.¹ Norse dialect words survive by the thousand. Dr. Jakob Jakobsen has made a large collection of Shetland words, and is now engaged in rescuing what survive in Orkney; after which he will extend his researches to Caithness.

Orkney and Shetland literature of the Scottish period began in the seventeenth century, with topographical and historical descriptions of the islands. From that time to this, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the names of all the authors are of outland origin. The study of records began in the eighteenth century, when the landowners, with an eye to business, attempted to have some of their grievances remedied, and the work of hunting up and elucidating the records was done by Mr. A. Mackenzie.² In 1820, Mr. Alexander Peterkin edited a volume of rentals of the earldom and bishopric of Orkney. Amongst the names of subsequent editors of records may be mentioned those of Colonel David Balfour, of Balfour, Mr. George Petrie, Mr. Gilbert Goudie, Mr. F. J. Grant, and the venerable archdeacon J. B. Craven. The most important collection of documents is that contained in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. It now remains to fill in a few details of the foregoing very brief historical outline. At the most we can only indicate the uncertainties which remain to be cleared up when the necessary documents are found.

¹ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 1837, iii., 190.

² *Mackenzie's Grievances of O. and S.*

LAND-TAKE : LAND-NÁM.

The original colonisation of Orkney and Shetland may have been effected in the same way as it was later in Iceland. Chiefs and their followers would peg out their claims as they arrived. The word *hérað*, district, still survives in Orkney and Shetland. In Orkney it occurs in the name of a defined district, *Byrgishérað*. This place is now divided into two parishes, Birsa and Harra, the latter was called Hurray Brugh, and also Brugh, in 1500.¹ The O.N. term *byrgi*, an entrenchment or mound, may have been applied to this *hérað*, or district, on account of the exceptional number of mounds, covering the foundations of Pictish round towers, which are to be found in Harra; or the name of the *hérað* may have been taken from a possible name of the tidal island, now called the Brough of Birsa, **Byrgisey* (which may be represented by the modern name Birsa), and probably so-called on account of its mound-like appearance. The original *þinghár*, þing-districts, into which the islands were divided, would each be probably of the size of *Byrgishérað*. The colonists must have settled on the enclosed townships of the Picts,² whose chapels would have been utilised as *hof*, temples. That the Picts became thralls of the Norse seems probable. Dr. Jakobsen calls attention to the Shetland word *tralfangi-nn* (O.N. **þræl-fangi*), applied to a short, square-built person, as suggestive of the aboriginal race who became thralls.

The original colony in Orkney was augmented by the discontented chiefs and their followers, when Harald hárfagri formed the united kingdom of Norway. When Harald conquered Orkney and Shetland, in 872, he drove out the leading vikings, who had been making reprisals on Norway, and of course would have confiscated their landed estates as well as those of other chiefs

¹ P.R. No. 1.

² For a description of these, see *Proceeds. S.A. Scot.*, 1884, 254.

in the islands. These estates would form the *lén*¹ or fief of the earl. It is notable that the earl's landed estate lay scattered throughout the islands, which appears to confirm the above conjecture that the forfeited estates of the Orkney vikings formed the earldom estate; these were in Birsa, Orphir, Kirkwall, Burrey, South Ronaldsey, Hoy, Westrey, Sandey and Stronsey. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the earldom estate included a great part of the north isles, which would have been ideal viking stations.

Each *þinghá* would have had its *hof*, temple, for which a Pictish church would have done service. When Christianity was adopted, the *þinghá* would become the parish, and its *hof* the parish church. With the exception of Byrgishérað, there is no indication in the saga of the districts into which the islands were divided. That the parochial *þing* was the unit of government in the islands appears to be proved by the termination *þing* in the names of a number of Shetland parishes, e.g., Delting, Sandsting, etc., some of which are mentioned as early as 1321-1355.²

CHURCH HISTORY: KRISTNI SAGA.

The ecclesiastical history of Orkney and Shetland is particularly complicated.

The Pictish church would of course be under Iona. Adam of Bremen (1067-1076) stated that Orkney was formerly ruled by bishops appointed by the Scots (Iona) and English (York). In 605, Pope Gregory wrote to St. Augustine that, after the latter's death, there should be two primates of England, one in London and one in York. It was maintained by the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1119, that "Britanniæ,"

¹ Borrowed from mid. low German, or more probably O.E. *læn*, a lease, to account for the early use of the word, the feudal system in Norway being of foreign origin. The true O.N., *lán*, has the simpler meaning 'loan.'

² D.N., ix., 110; iii., 234.

in Gregory's letter, included Scotland and Ireland. Meanwhile Orkney was colonised by the Norse, 664-872. In 822, Rheims was made metropolitan of the North, and in 831, Bremen was made metropolitan of the three Scandinavian kingdoms¹; but there were no Christians in Norway. In 934, Hákon (son of king Harald hárfagri and fosterson of Athelstan of England, by whom he was converted) vainly attempted to Christianise Norway. He asked for bishops from England. In 961, king Harald gráfeldr, who had been baptised in England, succeeded to the Norwegian throne. In 995, king Ólaf Tryggvason, who had been converted in England, formally introduced Christianity into Norway and Orkney and Shetland, assisted by English bishops and priests. Henry, called "the fat" (the treasurer of Knút, king of England, 1014, 1016-1035, and of Norway 1028-1035), was appointed bishop of Orkney, probably by York, when Knút was king of Norway, 1028-1035. Knút appointed one other Norwegian bishop.

The early Christian kings of Norway repudiated Bremen as their metropolitan, and looked to England for bishops. It was only during the early part of the reign of Knút, when he claimed Norway, that Norway turned to Bremen rather than England.

In 1050-56, Bremen appointed a bishop of Orkney, probably at the request of Þorfinn, the earl who built the first cathedral in Orkney, after he had visited Bremen and Rome. This bishop was ousted, in 1085, by a bishop who had been appointed by York in 1073. The latter York bishop had been probably appointed on the strength of the Papal bull which assigned the primacy of Scotland to York in 1072. After this we have double bishops of Orkney, appointed by Bremen and York. These double bishops were probably run by the rival earls, each having his own prelate. The Pope upheld the York bishops. The dispute was finally

¹ D.N., xvii. B, 177, 178.

settled in 1152, when Nidaros, now Trondhjem, was made the metropolitan see of Norway, including Orkney. Hitherto the bishops had been missionary bishops without chapters, whereas now they were assigned cathedrals, with properly constituted chapters. Bishop William, the old, of Orkney (who would have been appointed by Bremen if his appointment took place in 1102, or by Lund, which was made metropolitan of Norway in 1104, if, as is thought by some, his appointment took place in 1112), was the sole bishop in possession when Nidaros was made metropolitan of Orkney. During his episcopate the cathedral was transferred from Birsa to Kirkwall. As bishop William was the first constitutional bishop of Orkney with a chapter, he is accordingly described in the saga as "the first bishop of Orkney." In 1472, the bishopric of Orkney was transferred from the see of Trondhjem to the newly erected metropolitan see of St. Andrews in Scotland.

Another cause of confusion arose during the great Papal schism in 1378-1429, when double bishops of Orkney were appointed by the Popes and anti-Popes. Norway, which was in possession of Orkney, acknowledged the Papal bishops, so that they were alone in actual possession of the bishopric. Scotland, which acknowledged the anti-Popes until 1417, had certain Scottish clergy appointed as titular bishops of Orkney, but they had permission to retain their Scottish livings, in which they resided.

The payment of tithe, *tiund*, was probably imposed on Orkney and Shetland early in the twelfth century, at the same time as it was laid on Norway, by king Sigurð jórsalafari (Jerusalem-farer or crusader), who had been earl of Orkney until his father's death in 1103.

The bishop and his retinue exercised great influence in the islands. The nature of the civil jurisdiction of the church over the clergy and over the occupiers of

church lands remains to be more fully explained. We are informed, in 1369,¹ that the bishop had jurisdiction of holy church, lay and learned, without let or hindrance from the earl's and king's representatives. In 1490, the Scottish government erected the bishopric into a regality, with civil courts and officers of its own, having civil jurisdiction over all occupiers of church land,² which probably merely confirmed the powers previously exercised by the bishop under the Norwegian government.

CODES: LÖG-BÆKR.

The early oral laws of Norway were recited by the law-speaker. On the foundation of Norway, as a united kingdom, by Harald hárfagri, in 872, new laws were framed. Further new laws were framed by king Hákon hinn góði (the good), 935-961, and by king Ólaf hinn helgi (the holy), 1015-1030, including church and canon law. During the reign of king Magnús hinn góði (the good), 1035-1047, "St. Olaf's Law" was taken down in writing in *Grágás* (Greygoose), a record which is now lost. Old Gulathing Law was taken down about 1100, and New Gulathing Law was adopted in 1275, while various amendments and ordinances were effected after that.

Undoubtedly the Orkney vikings took their Norwegian oral laws, *lög*, and law-speaker, *lögsögumaðr*, with them to the islands. In the period from the colonisation down till the enactment of New Gulathing Law, in 1275, the islands may have exercised a measure of legislative independence; although it is hard to believe that at the foundation of the earldom, in 872, Harald did not have his new laws adopted there also. Likewise the new Christian laws of St. Ólaf must also have been adopted in the islands.

Although the Norwegian parliament, *lög-þing*, had legislative power, such power was mainly confined to the adoption of new laws and amendments, framed and

¹ D.N., I., 308.

² P.R., App.

proposed by the king or his council—a nominal power, not unlike in nature to that possessed to-day by cathedral chapters in the election of bishops, in which there is no alternative but to elect the king's nominee, notwithstanding the *congé d'élire*.

The references in the saga to legislation in Orkney are as follows. It is related, in 1048, that earl Þorfinn turned his mind to ruling the people and land and to law-giving: *á laga-setning*. This was shortly after the compilation of *Grágás*, 1035-1047, and may merely refer to the amendments introduced at that time, if not to the written code itself, which may have been transmitted to the earl of Orkney for adoption by his lawthing. In 1116, earl Hákon set up new laws (*setti ný lög*) in Orkney, which pleased the *bœndr* better than those which had been before (*áðr*). This, again, coincides with the recording of Old Gulathing Law, circa 1100, which may have been sent to Orkney for adoption.

In 1137, in order to raise money for the completion of St. Magnús' cathedral, earl Rögnvald was advised *færa lög á*, to bring up [for consideration, with the ostensive object of amelioration], an existing law which was felt to be rather hard, viz., that law by which the earls had hitherto inherited all *óðul* after all *bœndr* [generation after generation], so that the heirs of these *bœndr* had [either (1)] to redeem these *óðul* [generation after generation], in order to regain possession of their ancestral *óðul*, [or otherwise (2) to continue in occupation of these *óðul* as hereditary tenants, involving the payment of land rent to the earls]. Then the earl called a þing and offered the *bœndr* to allow them to buy, *kaupa*, their *óðul*, so that there would be no need to redeem, *leysa* them, thereafter, which was agreed to.¹

¹ The translation of Orkn. renders *færa lög á*: *bring in a law*, whereas it should be *bring up an existing law* (see Fritzner s.v., *færa*, med præp. á). This clearly explains this, hitherto obscure passage. The 'existing law' must refer to that by which earl Torf-Einar acquired the *óðul* in 895 (see *ante*), which *óðul* remained, unredeemed, in the possession of the earls until 995, when earl

A mark had to be paid for every ploughland. As a *plógsland* is estimated by Vigfússon at one acre, and in Snorra Edda as equivalent to what four oxen could plough in a day and night, and as a markland in Orkney averages a little more than an acre,¹ it has been suggested that this may have been the origin of this land denomination.² Did the Shetlanders also have to buy their *óðul*?

Sigurd digri gaf upp Orkneyingum *óðul* sin: gave up to the Orkneyingar their *óðul*; which gift would thus only have been for one generation, after which the *óðul* would again revert to the earls. During the whole of the period, 895-995, (during which the *óðul* remained unredeemed in the hands of the earls) the *bœndr*, as hereditary tenants, must have paid rent to the earls. King Ólaf Tryggvason's account of the transaction was that king Harald hárfagri took as his own all the lands in Orkney and Shetland in consequence of the slaughter of his son, and that earl Torf-Einar paid the king sixty gold marks [as the redemption price of the lands], and so acquired all these lands [the *óðul* in Orkney and Shetland; the Orkney saga is explicit in only mentioning the *óðul* in Orkney as having been acquired by the earl] which he held as a fief from the king.

¹ *Proceed.*, S. A. Scot, 1884, 274.

² If the mark of land in the Hebrides is of the same origin as that in Orkney and Shetland, it would appear to make the above supposition improbable. Moreover, a ploughland was of uniform area, whereas the mark of land, representing its purchase value, varied considerably in extent. Fritzner explains O.N. *plógsland*: *arable land*. On the basis of the eyrisland rent-valuation (*see infra*, *Taxation*), $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland (= 6 pennylands = 1 *ertogland) $\times$ 24 years' purchase = 1 mark. Was $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland the *plógsland* of the saga? It has been calculated that the pennyland in Orkney contains from 4 to 13 acres (*Proceed.* S. A. Scot., 1884, 277), so that $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland, or 6 pennylands, would contain from 24 to 78 acres. Can the *plógsland* of *Flateyjarbók* (in which this part of Orkn. is alone preserved) be an extension of a possible contraction *þgsland*, in the original, for **peningsland*?—a term, 'pennyland,' only known in Orkney and the west with which the *Flateyjarbók* copyist would have been unfamiliar, while *þgsland* would also be the contracted form of *plógsland*. If a mark had been paid for a pennyland ($\frac{1}{18}$ eyrisland), the price of an eyrisland would have been 18 marks, as against 3 marks, the redemption price of an eyrisland at 24 years' purchase. In the silver valuation of Orkney the pennyland was valued at from 1 to 12 and more marks,

During the union of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, 1389-1523, New Gulathing Law, together with subsequent amendments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were the principal source of law, viz., "St. Olaf's law and the good old customs," which the kings swore to maintain in Norway.¹

That the Orkney and Shetland law-book, *lög-bók*, was an edition of New Gulathing Law seems clear from the following references. In 1420 the feoffee, *lénsmadr*, of the earldom undertook to rule Orkney according to the Norwegian law-book and old customs.² In 1425 the Orkneyingers petitioned the crown to uphold king Ólaf's law and subsequent ordinances,³ precisely as in the royal oath above quoted. In 1538, a district court, *réttr*, in Shetland gave its decision in accordance with Gulathing Law, which decision was attested as sound by the king's council in Bergen.⁴ While in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the tradition in the islands that their laws were received from St. Ólaf.⁵ One Scottish bishop was so at sea in the matter that he explained that one Udillaus was sent by the king of Norway to divide the land in Orkney into pennylands, hence *udal land*.⁶ He had turned *Ulaus*

so that one mark, for the outright purchase of a pennyland, in 1137, would not have been exorbitant as compared with the possible recurrent redemption price of $\frac{1}{8}$ mark (*i.e.*, $\frac{1}{18}$ eyrir $\times$ 24 years' purchase = $1\frac{1}{3}$ eyrir = $\frac{1}{8}$ mark). The redemption price would undoubtedly have been maintained on the basis of the eyrisland valuation in 895, when the lands were acquired by the earl; but, possibly at a nominal and less rate than 24 years' purchase, as otherwise each *bóndi* would have paid back the fine every time a successive generation redeemed the land, and if 1 mark was paid for each pennyland in 1137, the earl would have received back six times more than the sum for which it was originally acquired in 895.

¹ Ud. N.H., i., 69.

² D.N., ii., 489.

³ D.N., vi., 449.

⁴ O.S.R. I., 70.

⁵ Gifford's *Zetland* (reprint), 47, 48; Brand's *Description* (reprint), 41; Hibbert's *Shetland*, 193, 275; Sibbald's *Description*, 81.

⁶ P.R. No. iii., 18, 20.

into *Udillaus*, by way of folk-etymology. Moreover, the little we do know of insular law corresponds with New Gulathing Law, *e.g.*, (1) the daughter only inherited half as much as a son, whereas by Old G.L. she inherited nothing; (2) the eldest son had the first choice of the head house, whereas Old G.L. has no ordinance on the subject.

The old customs, *forn* or *gömul siðvenja*, or consuetudinary law, referred to in the royal oath, would include immemorial rights of foreshore, common pasturage, etc.; and in certain cases fishing rights, which, in some cases flowed from royal grants; these were the emoluments, *lunnendi*, of óðal deeds.

LEGISLATURE, LAWS, LAW COURT :

ÞING (*afterwards* LÖG-ÞING), LÖG, LÖGRÉTTA

The original Norwegian þing appears to have been a primary assembly of freeholders, *óðalsmenn* or *hauddar*. By the time of Old Gulathing Law the general assembly was called the law-thing, *lög-þing*, and consisted of paid representatives from the various districts, nominated by the king's deputies; the king was represented by his deputies, *lendirmenn* and *ármenn*, barons and stewards, and the church by the bishops and priests. In 1164, the compulsory presence of the priests was limited to two from each fylki, who were nominated by their bishops. The representative system arose from the enlargement of the þing-districts and the growth of the royal power.

From among these nominated men the king's deputies nominated a smaller selection, called the lögrétta, which inquired into and arranged the cases before the decision of the þing was given. These lögréttumenn were also representative of districts, and were paid.

It will thus be apparent that the Norwegian parliament of historic times was, like the contemporary Saxon

assembly,¹ purely a body of royal nominees and churchmen without a vestige of democratic election.

There is not the slightest indication that the earl of Orkney had, like the earls in Norway, lendirmenn, under him, ruling the islands. The only appearance in the saga of a local þing is a *laun-þing*, or secret meeting, held in Westrey. We can only assume that the earldom was, as in Norway, divided into districts with district assemblies, the predecessors of the bailie courts. In Shetland we find notices of parish courts and officials and also of a "varding," *várþing* a spring court.²

From evidence given below it will be seen that the Orkney lawthing remained a primary assembly. The representative nature of the persons serving in the Orkney lögrétta has been shown by mr. J. Storer Clouston in the *Saga-Book*, VII., 100.

The references in the saga to the þing and laws are as follows. In the ninth century a fine was exacted from the whole community for the slaughter of the king's son at the instigation of the earl; land was held in óðal, with the right of redeeming alienated óðal. In the eleventh century earl Einar rangmunnr held þing in spring with the bœndr; earl Einar's slaughter was atoned for as for three lendirmenn, and his third part of the earldom was confiscated by the king of Norway, for the slaughter of the king's hirðmaðr, Eyvind úrarhorn, and afterwards given in lén to one of the other two earls. In 1106, earl Hákon killed the king's *sýslumaðr*, steward, who was looking after Magnús' share of the earldom. In 1116, the two ruling earls met at the þingstaðr in Hrossey (Mainland), and

¹ *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, by Professor F. Liebermann, pp. 38 seqq.

² Opp. O.Z., 71. A *várþing* was held in Jamtland in 1463 (D.N., iii., 627) Hitherto the Shetland 'varding' has been explained as *varð-þing*, but there is no such term on record, and a 'beacon-assembly' is not probable. *Lögþing* > *lögðing* in Shetland and elsewhere (D.N., i., 81 and N.G.L.), hence: *várþing* > *várðing* > *varding*.

came to terms and bound their agreement with oaths and handsal. Earl St. Magnús stated that it was *siðr ok lög*, custom and law, of men of old that the executioner should have the clothes of the person executed. In 1128, earl Pál is described as a man of few words, and no speaker at the þing. In 1137, Svein was outlawed and his estates forfeited for the slaughter of the earl's *hirðmaðr*, one of his bodyguard; a *launþing*, a secret þing, was held in Westrey; a þing was held in Hrossey (Mainland) at which there were present *rikismenn*, mighty men, *boendr*, *njósnar*, spies, and a skald; earl Rögnvald constantly held þing with the *boendr*, because he had to do with mighty men, *stórmenn*, who were against him; he held one þing in Kirkwall. In 1151, earl Rögnvald called a full þing in spring, in Hrossey, which was attended by all the *höfðingjar*, chiefs. In 1152, earl Erlend and Svein summoned a þing of the *boendr* in Kirkwall, to which they came from all the isles; at this þing the king's brief was read, which gave earl Erlend earl Harald's half of the earldom, to which the *boendr* promised obedience. Harald had got his half of the earldom from Rögnvald by private arrangement and not as a *lén*, fief, from the king. In 1154, earl Rögnvald held a *húsþing* (a house-thing, summoned by a trumpet, in cases of emergency; a war council), regarding the invasion by earl Erlend and Svein. A *sáttar-fundr*, peace meeting, was held between Svein and the earls, at which it was agreed that Svein should make peace by the payment of a mark of gold to each of the two earls, lose half of his lands and his good longship. In 1155, another *sáttarfundr* was held in St. Magnús' cathedral, in which had been stored the sail of Svein's forfeited longship, and at which earl Rögnvald attended with a broad-axe.¹

¹ In accordance with old Gulapingslög, a *breiðöx* was one of the weapons which had to be borne in a levy by each *ármaðr* and *lendrmaðr*—*breiðöx* or *sverð* (sword), *spjót* (spear) and *skjöldr* (shield)—while each *bóndi* had to be provided with *tvennar tylftir örva ok bogi einn*, two-twelves, i.e., 24, arrows and one bow.

In 1194, Shetland was forfeited to Norway (*skattr* and *skyld*—public taxes and the rents of the earldom landed estate), for the part the earl had in the rebellion against king Sverrir. The estates in Orkney and Shetland of the rebels who fell at Floruvœ were also forfeited, but were redeemable, within three years, by their kinsmen. Shetland was taken under the king's own control, as well as one-half of all the fines in Orkney. After this the *foguti* the king's bailiff, was appointed to Shetland.¹

From the foregoing references we find that as late as 1152, a þing of the *bœndr* was held in Orkney, to which they came from all the isles; a primary assembly, which would have had its *lögrétta*. This was fifty years after the recording of Old Gulathing Law in Norway, where the lawthing of Gulathing was attended by nominated and paid delegates. As Orkney was such a comparatively small place it seems unlikely that provision would have been made for the appointment and payment of delegates, so that the assembly would remain primary.

During 1273-1299 Shetland was in the appanage of duke Hákon, who became king in the latter year.

The next notice we have is of a *lögþing* in Shetland in 1299² (twenty-four years after the adoption of New Gulathing Law), which was attended by the *lögðingismenn*. In 1307, the lawman, eleven men and all the *lögréttumenn* of Shetland held a court [*lögrétta* of the *lögþing*?] at Tingwall, at which the decision was given by the lawman, with the special advice, *ráð*, and consent of *handgengnirmenn* [the eleven?] and *lögréttumenn*.³ The *handgengnirmenn* may have been in the service of the king or the lawman, as underfouds.

In 1379, Shetland was restored to the earl of Orkney. It has not yet been shown on what terms Shetland was handed back. In 1386, the king's steward, *dróttseti*, awarded certain lands in Shetland to the rightful

¹ Sverr. S., 156, 157; Orkn., 231, 235.

² D.N., I., 81.

³ D.N., I., 97.

owners, as they had been illegally taken possession of by Malis Sperra.¹

The earl of Orkney died in 1404, and the next earl, his grandson, was invested in 1434. During this interregnum the earldom of Orkney and lordship of Shetland were given out in *lén*, fief, to various persons. In a grant of a part of Shetland, north of Mawed, in 1412, the grantee received skatt, landskyld and wesel (wattle, O.N. *veizla*, entertainment), with all royal right except *þegnigildi*, weregild of a *þegn*, thane or freeman, and *friðkaup*, the price at which peace had to be bought from the king by one outlawed for manslaughter.²

In 1433, the burgesses of Kirkwall had to observe the statute of the country.³ In the last *lén* of the earldom in 1434,⁴ the earl, as in the *lén* of 1379, had to serve the king with one hundred men-at-arms out of Orkney, and had to be answerable for his faults to the king and council, in accordance with the law of Norway.

The first notice we have of an assembly [*lögrétta* of the lawthing?] in Orkney since sagatime, is of one held before 1438 (either in 1434-1438 or 1404 or before), in the vestry of St. Magnús' cathedral, consisting of sundry goodmen of the country.⁵ Before 1438 (1434-1438 or 1404 or earlier), a *hirðmannastefna* was held by the earl and the 'gentles' of the country regarding a land dispute which had been debated in the above-mentioned meeting [*lögrétta* of the lawthing], and which had been reported to the *hirðmannastefna*, meeting of the earl's bodyguard.

Orkney was wadset by Norway to Scotland in 1468, in the following terms:—

Damus, concedimus, impignoramus ac sub firma hypotheca et pignore imponimus atque hypothecamus omnes et singulas terras nostras insularum Orcaden-sium cum omnibus et singulis juribus, serviciis ac

¹ D.N., I., 366.

² D.N., II., 466.

³ O.S.R., I., 246.

⁴ N.G.L. (anden række), 137.

⁵ O.S.R., I., 45.

justis suis pertinentiis nobis regali jure . . . tenendas et habendas totas et integras terras nostras insularum Orcadensium prædictarum unacum omnibus et singulis customis, profiscuis, libertatibus, commoditatibus ac aliis justis suis pertinentiis, quibuscunque, tam nominatis quam innominatis. etc.¹

(Translation.)

Give, grant, wadset, and under strict hypothec and pledge do set and hypothecate all and sundry our lands of the islands of Orkney, with all and sundry rights, services, and their just pertinents, belonging to us by royal right . . . to hold and to have all and whole our lands of the islands of Orkney aforesaid, together with all and sundry customs, profits, freedoms, commodities and their other just pertinents whatsoever, as well named as not named.

The wadset was redeemable on the payment of the principal sum of 50,000 Rhenish florins (£20,833, Opp. O.Z., xii.), by the king of Norway or his successors. Shetland was wadset in the following year for 8,000 florins (Hvitfeldt, 921).

The *hirðmannastefna*, which was held by the earl before 1438, consisted of his *hirð* or bodyguard, who were appropriately described as the 'gentles' of the country. We have notice of a *hirðmannastefna* held by lord Robert Stewart in 1574, when it is described as a 'sheriffcourt called the hermanstein,' and at which lands were escheated for theft. This latter court consisted of twenty-seven members, including some Shetland landowners. Lord Robert Stewart attempted to revive all the prerogatives of the old Norse régime, and naturally would wish to have his *hirð* or bodyguard, which actually included some Shetlanders, and was therefore not an exclusively Orkney court.

Lord Robert Stewart alleged "himself to be as free lord and heritor of Orkney and Zetland as the king of

P.R. app.; Torfæus' *Orcades* (1697), 195.

Scotland is in his own realm, or the queen of England, or the king of France in France, and makes his vante, that in case he be put at by the king's majesty's authority, to give the haill countrys into the king of Denmark's hands." ¹

After 1468, we have the following notices of the lawthing in Orkney and Shetland.

In 1510, a court [lögrétta of the lawthing] was held at Tingwall, which carried out the decree of the [lögrétta of the] lawthing of Orkney; the lawman at this time being lawman of both Orkney and Shetland.² In 1538, a *réttr*, (district) court, was held in Shetland by the lawman, local lawrightmen, *lögréttumenn*, and other good men, whose verdict was afterwards certified as correct by the king's court in Bergen.³ In 1576, it was reported to the royal commission, who were taking evidence as to lord Robert Stewart's oppressions in the islands, that the lawthing of Shetland was the head court of the county in which the assize [*i.e.*, lögrétta] gave decreets and the members of the lawthing were all persons having land, heritage and great *taks*, leases, from the king.⁴ The court book of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney, 1602-1604,⁵ gives a detailed account of the circuit and head courts in Shetland. In 1538, a lawman of Shetland was appointed by Norway.⁶ There can be little doubt that Norway used every opportunity of keeping alive her right of redeeming the islands, by making concurrent appointments to those made by Scotland and by encouraging insular references to the Norwegian courts.

The exact relationship between the insular and Norwegian king's council and law courts has to be cleared up. As has also been shown, the earl of Orkney was answerable to the king's council in Norway.

¹ Opp. O.Z., 5. ² O.S.R., I., 60. ³ Ibid, 73. ⁴ Opp. O.Z., 44, 58.

⁵ Peterkin's *Notes*, app. Original MS. in the Register House, Edinburgh.

⁶ *Norske Rigsregistranter*, I., 57.

In Orkney, in 1509 and after, we have notices of several "ogangs," district courts,¹ held by the lawman, the justice and the worthiest and best of the land, "landedmen roythmen," or "roythmen and roythmen's sons"; the lawman gave the decree with the advice of the "doomsmen" and, in one instance sealed the decret on behalf of the "roythmen." The lawthing was held in 1509 and after, the members of the court being described as above. After 1519, the members of the lawthing court, *lögrétta*, are merely described as the "assize," as they were later on in Shetland.

With regard to the terms "roythmen" and "roythmen's sons," the terms "royth" and "roythman" were used in Orkney, in 1544² and after, as meaning the right of redeeming óðal, and the person who had that right.³ This is undoubtedly derived from O.N. *ráð*, rule, management, the *ráð* which the óðalsmenn exercised in alienating, as well as in redeeming, their óðul. The same meaning must be attached to the *roythmen* as members of the *lögrétta* of the lawthing, viz., a class of persons who were eligible for nomination as members of the *lögrétta* or lawthing court, in virtue of their being óðalbornir. The obvious explanation is that the members of the lawthing court or assize, *lögrétta*, were *chosen* from the landed men, roythmen and their sons,⁴ which was their property qualification; whereas their character qualification consisted in their being the worthiest, best, and good men. They had to be honest and respectable landowners or persons having the *ráð* or right to alienated estates, and their sons, who were óðalbornir. There is no indication that the term roythman was borrowed from the designation radman or raadman, O.N. *ráðmaðr*, used for a member of the *konungs ráð*, king's council, or the *bæjar ráð*, town

¹ O.S.R., I., 251.

² Reg. Gt. Seal, Scot.

O.S.R., I., 259.

⁴ O.S.R., I., 254.

council of Bergen.¹ If such a use of the word had been copied from Norway, one would have expected Shetland to have also done so, considering its closer connexion with the mother country. It would be a contradiction in terms and an absurdity to require that one must be a councillor in order to be eligible for election as a councillor. Orkney may have been under *bjarkeyarréttr*, town law, and Kirkwall may have had a *bæjar ráð*, town council, of which the *ráðmenn*, town councillors, were represented in the lawthing and its lögrétta. But this would not explain the "roythman's son" designation. Technically the term *roythmen* was applicable to all óðalsmenn, and we find their sons on the assize, designated as 'younger.'²

The occurrence of the term lawrightman, *lögréttumaðr*, in Orkney, puts *ráðmaðr*, councillor, out of court. There is one instance of the "landedmen and roythmen," in an assize, being described as "at that time," a term applied to officials, whereas the term "present at that time" was applied to unofficial persons. This instance occurs in a bungled docket on the back of a doom of the assize of the lawthing in 1516: "The dome of the best landit men in [deleted] and roythmen in Orkna at that ty [deleted] tyme"; in which doom it is stated that the doom was dempt before the "justice of Orkney for the time." by 20 "worthy persons" (some of whom were "younger"), who collectively, as "doomsmen," gave their "doom." The docket can have one of three possible interpretations, viz. (1) *landedmen and roythmen, in Orkney at that time, i.e., present in Orkney at that time, "in Orkney" being qualified by "at that time";* (2) *landedmen and roythmen (in Orkney) at that time*, which would mean

¹ Mackenzie's *Grievances* (1750), reprint, app. ii., iv., and pp. 11, 12, in which the assize of lawthing = *rætmen* = *raadmen*, councillors, and hence the fictitious Orkney and Shetland *raadmen* of modern glossaries.

² *Ibid.*, 252.

that the landowners and roythmen were reckoned as officials, an explanation which would involve a number of absurdities; or (3) *landedmen and roythmen in Orkney*, [*doomsmen* or *assizemen*; or *present*] *at that time*.¹ The original document is in the Record Room, Sheriff Clerk's Office, Kirkwall. The terms "landedmen roythmen," "landedmen and roythmen," "roythmen and roythmen's sons," are all explicit definitions of the qualification of lögréttumenn: they had to be landowners *who were óðalsmenn or their sons, i.e., óðalsbœndr*, as opposed to bœndr in the possession of bought land, a distinction and qualification which disappeared, with the term *roythmen*, when the assize was packed with persons other than óðalsmenn.

Besides the lawthing, ogangs and retts, there were also courts of arbiters and the bailie courts; which latter may have been the continuation of the district-þing. In Shetland the parish foud and bailie were synonymous terms.² The justice of Orkney and the foud, *foguti*, of Shetland, sometimes one and the same person, represented the executive, and were similar to the sýslumaðr of Norway. In Shetland the foud was also the receiver of the public taxes and of the rents of the earldom lands.

There were precisely similar officers in both Orkney and Shetland: lawman, justice or foud, underfouds (or bailies) and lawrightmen. The two latter terms are seldom used in Orkney. The Shetland lawrightman, in 1576 and before, is described as an officer in every isle and parish, who was chosen by the common consent and election of the foud and commons, as their procurator and defender, to keep the weights and measures by which their taxes were paid, and to see

¹ As '*for the time*,' is the usual official, and '*present at that time*,' the usual unofficial designation, and as the docket term, '*at that time*,' is part of the latter, probably '*present*' has been omitted.

² Opp. O.Z., 58.

that the taxes were justly measured. He was also specially chosen, for his discretion and judgment, to be chancellor of the assize in all courts, where he had to settle any legal questions and show the law, use and practice thereon, and to inform the assize and to pronounce decreets. For this service he was paid by the commons.¹ This payment may have been direct, or it may have been provided for in the skatt. The greater part of the skatt in Orkney and Shetland was undefined and was paid simply as butter-, malt-skatt, etc. Although *leiðangr*, war tax, is not specifically mentioned in the Orkney skatt, it, as the fundamental skatt, must of course be included in the general term skatt. One of the taxes paid in Orkney is called "forcop," *fararkaup*, travelling expenses, the term used in Gulathing Law for the wages paid to the levy. This term has hitherto been, incorrectly, explained as *þingfararkaup*, the Icelandic term for the travelling expenses paid to those attending a þing; whereas the Norwegian terms are *þingfararfé* in Frostathing, and *fé* in Gulathing.

As regards the "Lawbook" of Orkney and Shetland, nothing is known of its existence after the judicial reference to it in 1602.²

It has been shown that Orkney and Shetland, so far as evidence goes, were under the same code, corresponding to New Gulathing Law, which would have made it possible for the same man to act as lawman, or expounder of the law, in both groups, which we know was the case.

In 1611, after the downfall of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney, the Scottish privy council abrogated all

¹ Opp. O.Z., 18, 27.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*, 6-7. The earl of Orkney referred to it in 1611, as "the auld Dans lawis by which they were governed." Peterkin's *Notes*, App. 86. The bishop, in 1642, remarked that óðal succession was in accordance with "the law of Norroway," P.R., III., 20.

foreign laws in Orkney and Shetland,¹ as well as certain specified laws, "whether they be established by acts and ordinances or received by custom and observation of the country,"² and declared that the islands were to be subject to the law of Scotland. A commission was issued to the bishop of Orkney and another to convocate and assemble the whole inhabitants to concur and assist them; to make, prescribe and set down acts, statutes and ordinances for keeping the inhabitants under his majesty's obedience, and to hold sheriff and justice courts.³ In 1615, the sheriffs depute held a court at which certain acts were passed by the sheriffs with advice and consent of the gentlemen suitors of court and commons, all with one advice, consent and assent.⁴

In 1623, acts were passed by the sheriffs with the advice and consent of the gentlemen and bailies of parishes and suitors of court.⁵ In 1628, acts were passed by the sheriffs depute with consent of the whole gentlemen and suitors of court and commonalty present for the time.⁶

These courts would naturally be constituted and conducted on the same lines as the lawthing, their immediate predecessor, which they replaced; a general assembly of the commons, a primary legislature, by whose consent acts were adopted, while legal decisions were given by an assize (*lögrétta*) chosen from the assembly.⁷

The office of lawrightman (*lögréttumaðr*) appears, latterly, to have been divided into two distinct offices, held by different persons, viz., that of (1) a parochial "lawrightman," who looked after the interest of the commons in his district, and (2) a member of the assize (*lögrétta*) of the lawthing, chosen at the lawthing. Probably a fresh assize was chosen for each sitting of the court, or for each case.

¹ Peterkin's *Notes*, App. 64.

² *Ibid.* 69.

³ *Ibid.* 66.

⁴ Barry's *Orkney*, reprint, 1867, 412.

⁵ *Ibid.* 421.

⁶ *Ibid.* 424.

⁷ *Ibid.* 420.

The following questions remain to be answered : Was there one manuscript lawbook for both Orkney and Shetland, or had each its own copy? Was the lawbook of 1602 in old Norse, Danish or English? If it was in old Norse, had it marginal explanations in English? The possibility of a translation having been made seems highly probable, especially in Orkney, where Norse became generally extinct at an early date. The rentals of the earldom were translated *circa* 1490, if not earlier, and several old Norse charters bear a contemporary note, "put this into Inglis." ¹ As the lawrightman in Shetland had to "show the law" to his parochial assize, it seems to be self-evident that each lawrightman must have had a copy of the Lawbook, in the same way as the later bailies had each to have a copy of the Acts of Bailliary (Barry's *Orkney*, 1808, 469, 482).

TAXATION : SKATTR.

Skatt is assessed in Orkney and Shetland on the ounceland, *eyrisland*, which is subdivided into 18 pennylands, and each pennyland into 4 farthinglands. In Norway the *eyrir*, ounce, of money = 30-60 pennies $\doteq$ $\frac{1}{8}$ mark of silver. The English and Scottish mark = 13s. 4d., of which $\frac{1}{8}$ = 20 pence. The Orkney ounce of 18d. may be explained from the fact that a Shetland mark (paid in produce) was reckoned equal to 12 shillings, of which $\frac{1}{8}$ = 18d. The ounce, *eyrir*, in *eyrisland*, and the penny, *penningr*, in pennyland undoubtedly represent the amount of the original land rent. Skatt was only assessed on cultivated land, and it ceased so long as the land was not cultivated.

In 895, Orkney was fined 60 gold marks, as weregild for the slaughter of the king's son. It is not stated whether Shetland had to pay a share. This sum apparently represented the purchase value of the whole

¹ O.S.R., I., 57.

estates in Orkney, or in Orkney and Shetland, as otherwise the óðalsmenn would scarcely have given up their óðul as a *quid pro quo*. Sixty gold marks were equivalent to 480 silver marks = 3,840 silver aurar. A very rough estimate of the eyrislands in Orkney, in 1500-1595, gives about 170, which is probably much too little. If the eyrir in eyrisland represents the rent value in 895, then the 170 eyrir $\times$ $22\frac{1}{3}$ years' purchase would equal the amount of the fine paid to Harald. In Denmark, *circa* 1200, land was valued at 24 years' purchase.¹ Of course it is just possible that Harald's fine did not amount to the full purchase value of the estates, so that Shetland may have been included; but it seems unlikely that Shetland would have been fined for a crime committed in Orkney by Orkneymen.

It is not known how many eyrislands there are in Shetland. In 1628, there were 13,392 marks of land²; and one pennyland, or $\frac{1}{18}$ eyrisland, was valued at 8 marks in 1299.¹ On the assumption that the average value of a pennyland was four marks, as in Orkney, this would give 181 eyrislands in Shetland, or more than in Orkney. In the beginning of the 17th century the relative valuation of Orkney and Shetland was regarded as 2:1, for the purpose of assessing Scottish land tax³; in 1912 the ratio was 1.34:1; in 1881, 1.91:1; in 1861, 1.57:1.⁴ *Eyrisland* is explained in Fritzner's *Ordbog*, as land paying an eyrir of rent.

If, on the other hand, the eyrisland were a gold purchase-price valuation of Orkney and Shetland in 895, corresponding with the amount of Harald's fine, then the Orkney eyrislands $\times$ 170 + the Shetland eyrislands $\times$ 181 = 351, as compared with the 480 gold aurar of Harald's fine. On this supposition, and assuming that 129 eyrislands had gone astray, the difference between the gold valuation of 895 and the later sterling

¹ *Orkney and Shetland Miscellany*, I., 118.

² Goudie's *Shetland*, 177.

³ Peterkin's *Notes*, 153.

⁴ Tudor's *Orkneys*, 202. 412.

silver mark valuation,¹ is as 1 : 72; i.e., 1 gold eyrisland = 1 silver mark in 895, whereas the average value of the eyrisland in sterling silver marks, was 72 (eyrisland = 18 pennylands × average 4 marks). The lowest silver valuation was 18 marks, and the highest 360. The burnt silver mark valuation of Orkney was the English mark of 13s. 4d. (D.N. II., 146, A.D., 1329; *Proceeds. S.A.Scot.*, 1884, 273). In England, 20s. in 1329 = 66s. in present coins (see McCulloch's *Comml. Dict.*, s.v. *Coins*), so that the English mark of 1329 would be = 44s. in present coins. Dasent calculated that the Norse mark of the 10th century = 36 shillings sterling (*Burnt Njal*, II., 404), but it was probably of the same value as the English mark which was current in Orkney in 1329. Assuming that the eyrisland valuation is that of the silver-rent in 872, then the rent of an eyrisland in 872 was one eyrir, or $\frac{1}{8}$ old Norse burnt mark silver = 5s. 6d. stg., as compared with 29s. 4d. sterling in 1500, in Orkney, i.e., as 1 : 5.3, an increase which seems reasonable. The latter calculation is arrived at as follows: the eyrisland of 18d. lands was valued in 1500, on the average at 72 sterling marks silver (4 marks per d.) on which rent was charged, on the average, at the rate of 10d. Scots, and the ratio of Sterling to Scots, at that time was 1 : 3 $\frac{3}{5}$;² so that 72 marks × 10d. Scots = 720d. Scots = 200d. stg. = 29s. 4d. stg., in present coins, silver rent per eyrisland.

The eyrisland valuation must have been made in 872, for the assessment of the skatt which Harald imposed for the support of the government of his earl. The ounceland, or *tirung*, and pennyland of the Hebrides must be explained in the same way.

It can be proved by the rental of 1500 (P.R., I), that *kviar*, Orkn. *quoys*, folds or enclosures, in the com-

¹ The earliest record of the mark valuation is in 1299, O.S.R., I., 38.

² *Proceeds. S. A. Scot.*, 1884, p. 255. McCulloch's *Comml. Dict.*, s.v., *coins*.

mons, which presumably had been brought under cultivation after the original eyrisland valuation had been made, were also valued and included in the skatt-roll. It is obvious that such new land would not have been let off skatt-free in the early vigour of the Norse fiscal system. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that Harald's fine amounted to the price of the taxable land in Orkney in 895, and was calculated, on the basis of the then existing eyrisland or rental valuation, at twenty-four years' purchase. This would give 160 eyrislands in Orkney, in 895, or about 10 less than in 1500, which seems a reasonable allowance for the subsequent increase of cultivated and taxable land.¹

The value of the marks of land in Orkney had evidently decreased considerably in value by 1500, when land, formerly worth a mark of 13s. 4d. stg. (the sterling mark of 1329 would be = 25s. stg. in 1500), was let for a payment of produce, worth 10d. and 12d. Scots, = 2 $\frac{7}{9}$ d. and 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. stg. Whereas in 1602, $\frac{1}{2}$ mark (6s. 8d. stg.) of land was sold for 43s. 4d. stg.;² and in 1603, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks (£4 6s. 8d.) was sold for £20 stg.³ At this time sterling to Scots money was 1 : 12, and the sterling mark of 1329 = 41s. 4d. stg., so that the land was sold for about double its mark value.

¹ Comparative value of Orkney in 895 and 1912 :—

A.D.	Rent.	Value at 24 years' purchase.
895.	£44.	£1056.
1912.	£87,920.	£2,110,080, including Kirkwall and Stromness.
1912.	£65,254.	£1,566,096, excluding Kirkwall and Stromness, Banks and Bú of Orphir 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. land.
895.	£0 2s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	£3 7s. 10d.
1906.	£85.	£2,040.

Including the towns, Orkney was about 2,000, and excluding the towns, 1,483 times more valuable in 1912 than 895; whereas the Bú of Orphir was only 601 times more valuable; but Orkney now includes a large area of new land.

² O.S.R., I., 272.

³ Ibid., 221.

The earl's acquisition of the óðul in Orkney in exchange for the fine which he paid for the óðalsmenn placed them in the same position as the óðalsmenn in Norway, where Harald appropriated all the óðul and the óðalsmenn became his vassals and tenants. In both cases the óðul were ultimately restored to the óðalsmenn, in order to gain their support. The *Heimskringla*, in one version, states that Harald himself took possession of the óðul in Orkney, and gave them to earl Einar as a *lén* or fief. Pennylands were, at a later date, valued at their purchase price in burnt silver marks of 13s. 4d. sterling each, and on this valuation land rent was charged in Orkney down till 1600. The eyrislands of Orkney are mentioned in 1263.¹ In Shetland the marks of land ceased to be used as the uniform basis of rent charge as early as the sixteenth century, when land was leased at so many pennies per mark, the penny representing the actual currency value of the rent paid in produce. This method continued in use in Shetland until the eighteenth century. The pennyland and eyrisland valuation of Shetland is now lost; there is only one record of a pennyland in Papey, in 1299, when its purchase price was valued at eight silver marks (= 1 gold mark), on which the rent was then charged, as in Orkney.²

The purchase value in marks of the pennylands in Orkney varies considerably. Land in the north isles had not increased so much in value as in the Mainland (Hrossey). This is undoubtedly accounted for by the fact that the north isles (excepting Rousey, Edey and Westrey), are flat and without heath or moorland, and

¹ Hák. S., 365-366, where *eyrisland* is translated, *geldable land and crown estate*!

² O.S.R., I., 38; *Old-Lore Miscellany*, I., 117-119. It is assumed that the mark valuation was made previous to 1299 and continued unaltered; but it is possible that it may have been amended from time to time. This valuation was only used for charging rent and for the division of óðal inheritance, except in Shetland, where it was latterly also used for tithing purposes.

consequently more easily cultivated. They would have been cultivated to their full capacity when the first valuation was made. Whereas the Mainland, with its heaths, hills, streams and alluvial soil, provided, as it still does, considerable scope for breaking in new land capable of improvement. In Sandey, as its name implies, sand drift formed a serious impediment to its cultivation. The relative value of Orphir (Mainland parish), to Sandey (north isle), is in pennylands, as 1 : 7, whereas the present rental ratio is 1 : 2. When the markland valuation was made, the average value of a pennyland in Sandey was $1\frac{1}{2}$ marks, and in Orphir 8 marks or over.

ÓÐAL LAW: ÓÐALSRÉTTIR.

Five generations of continuous ownership of land converted the estate into an óðal, its owner into an óðalsmaðr, and his son óðalborinn. The óðal could not be alienated without being first offered to the nearest heir, and, when alienated, it could be redeemed again.

Before 1275, óðul were inherited equally by the sons only; but, after that date, daughters inherited one-half of a son's share, and the eldest son had the first choice of the head house, *höfuðból*, *höfuðbæli*; and this was the law in Orkney and Shetland until the sixteenth century.

On the introduction of Christianity, the church speedily got rid of the inability of the óðalsmenn to bequeath land and goods to the church, by the enactment of laws which permitted óðalsmenn to give a *höfuðtiund* and *ávaxtartiund*, a tithe of stock given once in one's lifetime (usually on the deathbed), and an annual tithe of income. Latterly the law allowed óðalsmenn to give away *tiundargjöf*, a tenth of inherited land and loose goods, and *fjórðungsgjöf*, a fourth of self-acquired land and loose goods, terms which appear in Orkney charters as "tiend penny and the ferd." These

gifts could be left to anyone, and were redeemable in the usual way.

Upon the death of an óðalsmaðr, a court was held on the seventh day afterwards, and accordingly called a *sjaund*, at which the property was divided.

As early as 1544, primogeniture crept into Orkney, fortified by crown charters,¹ and is now general.

CURRENCY: VERÐAURAR.

In 1500, we have the last relic of butter currency in Orkney, when 21d. of butter=1 spann.² In Shetland, butter and cloth currency was in use until the seventeenth century; an ell of vaðmál being = 2d.-vaðmál, and 4 marks weight of butter=1d.-butter, and 1 lispund of butter=6d.-butter.³ In 1575, 2d.-vaðmál=2s. Scots.⁴

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES: VÁG OK MÆLING.

The information on this subject is too meagre and uncertain to arrive at any safe conclusion at present. The only certainty is that the weights and measures were fixed by law in Orkney and Shetland in 1828, and they differ in amount.

The spann, butter measure, of 21d. butter, is mentioned in Orkney in 1500, as equivalent in current market value to 4 lispunds of butter; and 20 lispunds of butter as equivalent in value to a barrel of butter. The lispund, *lífspund*, *linspund*, and the setting, *séttungr*, are, contrary to Norwegian custom, each divided into 24 marks. As in Norway, 6 settings=1 meil (*mæli*).⁵

In Norway the bismarapund=24 marks; a subdivision which probably got transferred to the lispund and setting in Orkney and Shetland. But here we must leave the subject, which can only be elucidated by a

¹ Gt. Seal Reg., Scot.

² P.R., No. I.

³ MS. rental with Viking Society; Goudie's *Shetland*, 178.

⁴ Opp. O.Z., 27.

⁵ P.R., No. I.

large and systematic accumulation of facts, and by a thorough examination and study of the weights and measures of Norway and the Hebrides.

SOCIETY : FOLK.¹

Classes.—In Gulaþingslög, circa 1100, society was grouped into five main classes: (1) thralls, (2) freed thralls, (3) free men and freeholders, (4) noblemen, fеоffees of crown lands, (5) earls and king. The last four classes were further divided into seven grades, *stig*, so far as the payment of wergild, *bót*, was concerned.

wergild
ratio.

1. unfree, *úfrjáls*: *þræll*, pl. *þrælar*, thrall.
2. freed-man: *leysingi*, pl. *leysingiar*, freed thrall:—
 - (a) leysingi of the first four generations, who was still dependent on the original owner. 1
 - (b) leysingssónr, the fifth generation, when *þyrmsl*, dependence, on the original owner ceased. 2
3. *bóndi*, pl. *bændr*:—
 - (a) a tenant of a farm, or the owner of *kaupajörð*, bought land, as opposed to *óðalsjörð*, freehold. 3
 - (b) freeholder, franklin, *hauldr*, *höldr*, pl. *hauldar*, *óðalsmaðr*, *óðalborinn maðr*; land became *óðal* when it was inherited from five forefathers, in the sixth generation.²

¹ N.G.L., see also Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*.

² In Seebohm's *Tribal custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 1903, 273, he quotes from Gulaþing Law, 270, an incidental reference to *óðal* which is there described as land which *afi* has left to *afi*, and which his translator has rendered: 'grandfather has left to grandfather.' *Afi* in this instance means ancestor (see N.G.L., V., Gloss. s.v., and Fritzner, s.v., (3)). The full definition of *óðal* is given in Gulaþing Law, 266.

4. nobleman, *lendborinn*, *lendrmaðr*, landed-man (formerly *hersir*), one holding a *lén*, fief, of the king. 12
5. highborn man, *tignarmaðr*:—
 - (a) *jarl*, earl, holding a *lén*, fief, of the king. 24
 - (b) *konungr*, king. 48

To the titled classes the *hertogi*, duke, was added later on. The titles of *barún* and *riddari*, baron and knight were conferred, in 1277, on the lendirmen, and the *skutilsveinn* in the king's *hirð*, bodyguard, who were styled *herra*, lord. *Herra* was also applied to bishops, and *síra* to priests.

In accordance with Old Borgarthings Law these distinctions of class and grade were applied to the dead as well as to the living. The churchyard was divided into four quarters for burial. Lendirmenn were buried east and south-east of the church, under the eaves if they had taken part in the building of the church, otherwise they were buried in the *bœndr's* quarter. Hauldar and their children were buried next to the lendirmenn, and the *þrælar*, thralls, next to the churchyard wall.¹

The following are the saga references to society, officials, personal appearance, etc., etc.

As regards personal appearance, special attention is always directed to dark and swarthy persons, who are sometimes described as unlucky looking, and to very fair persons with flaxen hair. The inference being that the average islander was brown-haired, and not a pure Scandinavian.

¹ In the Oxford Icelandic *Dict.*, s.v., *Höldr*, is given a description of the Norwegian graveyard, which concludes with a statement that 'the höld had right to twice as much,' etc.; in the *Dict.* after *nearest to the wall* insert sources *N.G.L.*, I., 344, 359, 368, and then commence *In cases of landnám, i.e., fines for illegal possession or use of land, the höld had right to twice as much, etc.*, and correct the source to *N.G.L.*, 44.

In 880, earl Hallad got weary of the earldom, and took up his *haulds rétt*, óðal right, and went back to Norway. When he resigned his *lén*, fief, of the earldom he was only a hauldr or óðalborinn, as there was nothing else for him, unless the king gave him another *lén* and made him a *lendrmaðr* in Norway.

Earl Torf-Einar, 880-900, the famous skald (whose name was given by Snorri to a metre called *Torf-Einars-háltr*), after he had an eagle carved on the back of Hálfván, the son of Harald hárfagri, and sacrificed him to Óðin, sung a song in which he referred to the höldar who had warned him of the danger, *hætta*, he had incurred. The Orkney óðalsmenn or böendr were therefore called hauldar.

For this crime king Harald, as already mentioned, exacted a payment, *gjald*, from the islands. Earl Torf-Einar paid the fine, in security for which the böendr gave him their óðul. The rich, *auðigr*, böendr agreed, because they thought that they would be able to redeem them, while the poor, *snauðr*, böendr had no money to pay the gjald.

We have here a clear statement that the böendr of Orkney (and Shetland?) were hauldar or óðalbornir. The designation bóndi is applied, throughout the saga, to the óðalbornir or óðalsmenn of the islands. The Scottish höfðingi, Summerled, is called a höldr, in 1157. The böendr of Shetland are called *þegnar*, thanes or freemen, in a verse.

Earl Einar took the earldom as a *lén*, or fief, from the king, and was not required to pay any skatt (as was paid by the earls in Norway), on account of the viking raids to which the islands were subject.

Throughout the existence of the Norse earldom, 872-1468, it was always held as a fief from the king of Norway, each earl being invested. The title was not strictly hereditary, as it was conferred, at will, by the king, on any member or connexion of the family, or on another family altogether. Earl Sigurð, *circa* 995,

restored the óðul to the bændr for services rendered to him in Scotland. He had a *hirð*, bodyguard, which numbered among its members, Helgi and Grím Njáls-sons and Kári. He had also a *sýslumaðr*, steward, in Caithness and Stroma. The *bætr*, wergild, awarded by the king for the slaughter of earl Einar, in 1026, was fixed as for three lendirmenn, instead of two as in the above list.

Earl Þorfinn, who ruled 1014-1064, was half a Scotsman, his mother being a daughter of the king of Scotland. He had the whole earldom to manage after 1028 and to own 1030-1035, the period of king Knút's reign over Norway. He had his *hirð*, bodyguard, and treated them and many other *rikismenn*, mighty men, exceptionally well, as he furnished them with meat and drink all the winter through, and not merely at Yule, as was the custom of other earls and kings, so that no man needed to go to a *skytningr*, a guild or club.

Earl Rögnvald, 1045, brought certain matters before his *vinir* and *ráðgjafar*, friends and councillors. A *ráðgjafi* was one of the council of a king or princely person.

When earl Rögnvald burnt earl Þorfinn's bú, in 1046, the women and the *úfrjáls*, unfreemen, *i.e.*, thralls, were allowed to escape, but the *hirðmenn* were burnt in the house, "as they would be no better to him alive than dead." However, the earl escaped in the dark.

Frequently a *sáttar-fundr*, peacemeeting, was held for the settlement of private disputes. During 1098-1102, Sigurð, the nine-year-old son of king Magnús, was made earl of Orkney, when the two ruling earls were banished to Norway. The king provided him with a *ráðuneyti*, council.

During king Magnús' expedition to Scotland and England, Magnús, afterwards earl and saint, acted in his *hirð* as *skutilsveinn*.

On the succession of Sigurð to the throne, the sons

of the banished earls who had since died were made earls. Both of these earls were married to Scottish wives. Among the earl's men, in 1116, are mentioned his *merkismaðr*, standard bearer, and *steikari*, cook. The *merkismaðr* of the king ranked as a *lendrmaðr*. When earl Hákon's *merkismaðr* declined to execute St. Magnús, his *steikari* was ordered to do so. There is a distinction drawn between the *ríkismen* and *bœndr* who attended a thing in 1137; the difference may have been one of wealth, as previously mentioned, *auðigr* and *snauðr*. There were *njósnaermen* (news-men), spies, in those days. The bishop, on one occasion, acted as *meðalferðarmaðr*, intercessor, between the earls. There were two *gildirmenn*, great men, in 1128, Jón vængr (wing), at Uppland in Háey, and his brother Ríkarð, at Brekka in Strjónsey.

In 1135, the earl had his *skutilsveinn* and *kertisveinn* page and torchbearer, at feasts. The *skutilsveinn* was one of the *hirð*, bodyguard.

Two earls shared the earldom in 1139, and it was arranged that one should have *ráð*, rule, and that they should have only one *hirð* between them.

Earl Rögnvald, the saint and skald, took into his *hirð*, Hall, the Icelandic skald, and they collaborated in the composition of the famous "Háttalykill hinn forni," a key to metres, and used five *vísur*, strophes, to each *hátt*, metre, but the *kvæði*, song, was thought too long, and now two are sung to each *hátt*. Other Icelandic skalds were also taken into his *hirð*. This earl had his *sýslumaðr*, steward, in Caithness, to collect his revenues.

Svein, the last of the vikings, who was latterly a *hirðmaðr* of earl Rögnvald, had in his house a *heimakona*, housemaid, and *húskarlar*, menservants, followers or bodyguard. He had also a *landseti* or *húsbóndi*, a tenant of one of his farms. The earl's and Svein's *húskarlar* may have been their *hirð*, and not merely menservants; because this term is sometimes applied

even to the king's *hirð*. When Svein and earl Erlend met unexpectedly, at a time when they happened to be at feud with each other, they endeavoured to settle their dispute on the spot. But as the earl was not accompanied by his *hirð* and *ráðuneyti*, bodyguard and council, Svein offered the services of his own *fylgð*, followers or bodyguard, and *ráðuneyti*.¹ This gives a good idea of the status of an Orkney *ríkismaðr*, *göfugr maðr* or *gœðingr*, of the period,

Other leading men, such as Þorbjörn klerk, had a *sveitungr* or *fylgðarmenn*, a following of men.

The designation *gœðingr* denotes a man of *gæði*, wealth. In 1064, the *earl's* *gœðingar* are mentioned. Earl Rögnvald had the bishop and many of *his* *gœðingar* at his Yule feast. Svein's revenues in Caithness, in 1126, are called *his* *gæði*. In 1153, the *gœðingar* went into two bands and took sides with the two earls. In 1128, it is remarked that there were many *göfugir menn*, noblemen, in Orkney, of the stock of the earls, who were all *gœðingar of* earl Pál. In 1136, earl Pál summoned the *gœðingar* and asked council. He had a great feast with *his* *gœðingar*. The *earl's* *gœðingar* came to the earl when the danger beacons were lit. There is a reference in Fms. vi., 442, to the king's *stallari* and *other* *gœðingar*, and x, 303, to the king's *borð* and *gœðingar*. The conclusion seems inevitable that the term *gœðingar* was applied in Orkney to the earl's *hirðmenn*, the "gentles" of a later period. At any rate they were the wealthy *óðalbornin*, and of the stock of the earls. A *gœðingr* was described in 1159, as of the earl's kin, and the *göfgastr maðr*, most worshipful by birth, in the earl's *lið*, troops. They are always called the *earl's* *gœðingar* and of *his* kin; possibly they had grants, during the earl's life, of portions of the earldom lands *at veizlu*, in return for which they would have to support him in battle and to entertain him when on circuit, corresponding with the king's *lendirmenn*. As

¹ The translation of Orkn. is bad here.

the earl only held the earldom for life, in fief from the king, he could only grant portions of it, *at veizlu*, during his tenure.

A Shetland *búandi* (= *bóndi*), in 1137, had a *leigu-maðr*, servant; and *man-frelsi*, giving a thrall his freedom, is mentioned.

An *ármaðr*, steward, also appears in the earl's service. A *bóndi* in Caithness was described as *göfugr*, noble.

In 1154, St. Magnús' cathedral was used as a sanctuary.

Harald Thorbjörn addressed earl Rögnvaldr as *herra* in 1139-48, a title only applied to kings and earls at that time. In 1277, knights and barons were created in Norway, to whom the title of *herra* was given.

The king's *foguti*, bailiff, appears in Shetland, when it was annexed to Norway, in 1194, and the king sent his *befalingsmen*,¹ officers, to Orkney and Shetland in 1210.

In 1273-1299, Shetland was in the appanage of *hertogi*, duke, Hákon, afterwards king of Norway.

There were no *lendirmenn* in Orkney and Shetland, as the earl was sole feoffee, but their place in society and in the government of the earldom would be taken by the rich and leading *óðals-bœndr*,—the *ríkismenn*, *gæðingar*, etc., who probably represented the earls in their respective districts.

Besides the political divisions of classes, it will have been already observed that there were then, as now, a multiplicity of social distinctions, even in one class. It has already been mentioned that, as early as 895, the *bœndr* were divided into rich and poor, as well as the earls' kin, chiefs, great men and such like. For matrimonial purposes there would, undoubtedly, have

¹ Orkn. 236: Peder Clausøn Undals Danish translation (*circa* 1600) of the lost *Böglunga sögur*; at this time (1210) the term *befalingsman* does not occur in Norway. The term used in Sverr. S. is *sýslumenn*.

been still further discrimination observed, having regard to family associations. The islands must have been a veritable storehouse of genealogical lore, seeing that five generations had to be traced back to claim óðal right, and four for a freed thrall family to claim to be freeborn. In Frostathinglaw, a family of thrall origin had to trace eight generations, in order to become árborinn. The law required these genealogies to be proved by witnesses in court.

As regards the óðals-bœndr, they were all, rich and poor, members of their primary lawthing, and eligible for nomination as members of the lögrétta—the humble owner working his own patch of ground, and the rich owner with his estate let out to tenants—and, as such, they were indiscriminately, rich and poor, described as *góðir-menn*; good men, *i.e.*, good, honest and respectable men; whereas the rich, the well-born and leading men, or rulers, who were members of the *hirðmannastefna*, were, as such, appropriately described as the “gentles” of the country. The *hirðmannastefna*, which originally was concerned with court ceremonial, latterly, in Orkney, acted as a judicial assembly, over which the earl presided.

The inborn faculty for genealogy was maintained in Shetland until the nineteenth century, when it is told that some families had oral genealogies going back for centuries, which had been handed down from generation to generation.

Living.—In the saga we have descriptions of homesteads—*skáli*, hall; *stofa*, parlour; *bakhús*, bakehouse; *bygghús*, bigghouse, barn; *brunnr*, well; *ljóri*, an opening in the roof for light and for the escape of smoke from the *langeldar*, longfires, in the centre of the hall floor; when the fires were not burning the *ljóri* was covered with a *skjá-vindauga*, skin window, formed of a *skjá-grind*, a frame, covered with *skjall*, a membrane or skin, to admit light; walls were hung with *tjald*, tapestry, with mythological subjects.

There were *skytningar*, clubs or guilds, and Kirkwall was a *kaupstaðr*, merchant town, in 1137. The earls wore kyrtils and gilded helmets and had underclothing of *lin-klæði*, linen.

Bread-breaking was performed as a peace token. Brewing took place before Yule, when feasts were held and solemn memorial toasts drunk out of horns, *kapp-drykkja*. Evening meals, with drinking after, were the fashion.

Earl Rögnvald indulged in harp-playing and in extemporising poetry. Among games mentioned are *mann-jöfnuðr*, man-matching, comparing which is the better of two, frequently ending in bloodshed; *tafl*, draughts.

Among sports: otter (*otr*) hunting, hare (*héri*) hunting, grouse (*heiðar-hæna*) shooting, in 1154, in Orkney, and deer hunting in Caithness.

Ships.—In the mythical part of the saga we are told of a *stjórnfastskip*, a ship with the rudder fixed, a term used again in 1098, also *bakborði*, larboard, as opposed to *stjórnborði*, starboard, which is mentioned in 1152. The following notices are arranged chronologically:—

880: *stafnbúi*, forecastle men (*stafn*, stem, bow or stern—*framstafn*, the bow, *aptrstafn*, the stern). The term occurs again in 1136, with *frambyggvar*, bow-sitters. The gangway leading to the bow was called *frambryggja*.

1029: *langskip*, longship; *framan siglu*, before the mast; *sigla*, mast; *segl*, sail; *stafnlé*, a grappling hook (*lé*, a scythe); *ár*, oar; *lypting*, poop, a raised place (castle) on the poop.

1046: *bátr*, boat; *háls*, the bow or neck of a boat; *andæfa*, to paddle a boat against tide and wind to prevent drifting, modern dialect *ando*.

1047: *tvítug-sessa*, twenty-oared ship (*sessa*, a seat).

1098: *fyrirrúm*, the first cabin in the after part, next the lypting.

1136: *þiljur* (planks), the deck; *smá skip*, small ships; *sexæringr*, six-oared boat, modern Shetland *sixareen*; *veiðar-færi*, fishing tackle.

1137: *byrðingr*, a merchant ship, a ship of burden; *skúla*, a small craft, cutter.

1148: *skipstjórnarmaðr*, ship steerer, captain, skipper; *þritugt at rúma-tali*, a ship with thirty rooms, seats or divisions, for sixty rowers; *búit skip*, ornamented ship; *hálf-fertugt at rúma-tali*, a ship with thirty-five rooms, for seventy rowers, and *gulli lagt allir enni-spænir ok veðrvitar ok víða annars-staðar búit*, gilded carved heads and weather-vane and many other parts ornamented; *dreki* (a dragon), a ship of war, with a dragon's head as beak, and *höfuðin ok krókar aftr mjök gullbúit*, the head and tail or coils aft much gilded, and *hlýr-birt*, stained on the bows, and painted above the water line.

1152: *drómundr*, a warship, in the Mediterranean.

1154: *reiði*, tackle, including sails; *eptir-bátr*, after boat, a cock boat of a ship.

1158: *tjald*, a tent or awning on board ship.

Beliefs.—Torf-Einar slew a viking in the ninth century and gave him to the *troll*, trolls; he made an Orkneyman cut an *örn*, eagle, on the back of Hálfván hálegg with a *sverð*, sword, and *skera*, cut, the *rif*, ribs, all from the *hryggr*, spine, and *draga*, draw, there out the *lungu*, lungs, and *gaf*, gave, him to Óðin for his *sigr*, victory; after which he let cast Hálfván's *haugr*, how, when he sung: "The Norns have ruled it rightly." In 995 earl Sigurð digri and the Orkneyingar were asserted by Olaf Tryggvason *trúa*, to believe, in *ýmislig skurðgoð*, various idols or 'carved gods.' When the king desired *skíra*, to baptise, the earl, the latter preferred to abide by the *átrunaðr*, faith, and the *siðr*, religion, of his *frændr*, kinsmen, and *forfeðr*, forefathers (Orkn., 313, quoting *Flateyjarbók*, ch. 12). A *spámaðr*, *spaeman*, *forneskjumaðr*, sorcerer, or *vísindamaðr*, wizard, was consulted by earl Hákon Pálsson,

in 1090-94, about getting *hamingja*, good luck, and hearing his *forlög*, future fate, by *forneskja* or *fjölkyngi*, witchcraft. Heathen sacrifice, *blót*, is referred to.

Svein brjóstreip, a *hirðmaðr* of earl Pál, was *fornmjök*, versed in old lore or witchcraft, and had constantly *úti setið* and *sat úti um nóttina*, sat out at night as a wizard (at the cross-roads), which is described as *úbótaverk*, a crime, in N.G.L. Svein preferred witchcraft to attending midnight mass on Yule eve. The slaughter of Svein was welcomed by the bishop as *landhreinsan*, a cleansing of the land, a term used in Gulating Law for clearing the land of miscreants.

Society after Saga times.—The last Norse earls in the male line were already half Scottish in 1206; and numerous Scottish relatives and friends of theirs came to Orkney. As regards Scottish marriages, like rulers like people. After 1206, the Scottish earls ruled. From that time till 1400, and later, is more or less a blank, except certain misdeeds of the bishops, an elopement, rival claimants to the earldom, and clergy translated from Norway to Orkney and Shetland. In 1347, king Magnús Eiríksson bequeathed, to St. Magnús' cathedral, a chasuble, dalmatic tunicle and a cope.¹ The king of England complained to Norway about the bishop of Moray, the excommunicated adherent of Robert the Bruce, being harboured in Orkney²; and later on, Robert the Bruce, who, tradition says, himself took refuge in Orkney, in turn complained about one of his fugitives being received there.³ An agreement, in Norse, drawn up in 1369, between the bishop and the representative of the king of Norway, during an interregnum in the earldom, gives some insight into the social condition of the islands at that time.⁴ It was agreed that the bishop and the *ríkast menn*, noblest men, in Orkney and Shetland, should be first and fore-

¹ D.N., V., 149.

² D.N., XIX., 544.

³ D.N., V., 63. See also II., 98; XIX., 594.

⁴ D.N., I., 308.

most in all ráð, councils, henceforth as regarded the king, church and people, according to the laws and *landsskiðir*, customs of the country, and that the bishop should have *godirmen* (O.N. *góðir menn*), good, honest men, *inlenzki*, born in, Orkney and Shetland, at þjóna, to serve him, as the custom was with other bishops in Norway.

The islands were evidently, at this early period, suffering from Scottish adventurers. It is significant that of the twenty-four leading men who were present at the making of that agreement, many had Scottish names, including the archdeacon of Orkney, a canon, and several clergy. Only two had Norwegian names, Gudbrand Andresson and Olave Skutt, while Sigurd of Paplay may be the only native man among the lot.

The wardrobe and belongings of a Shetland gentleman of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, sir David Sinclair, great foud of Shetland, captain of the king's castle in Bergen, etc., are set forth in his will of 1506; *inter alia*:

Drinking vessels: two silver and one "mid" stoops, with thirty stopps (flagons and cups?)

Ships: "The Carvell"; a little ship; and the Inglis (English) ship.

Jewelry: gold chain, which he wore daily; gold chain, called a "collar," given to him by the king of Denmark; great silver belt; signet.

Clothing: linen robe bought from the Flemings; blue doublet, with breast set with precious stones; hood, set with precious stones; black doublet of velvet; red hose; short red velvet coat, without sleeves; short black velvet coat; doublet of cloth of gold; grey satin gown; three ostrich feathers; black damask gown with silver buttons; grey scarlet hose; doublet of down cramese; red velvet coat, left to the high altar of St. Magnús' Cathedral; two-thirds of a black velvet coat, left to St. Magnús' church, Tingwall, and one-third to the Cross church of Dunrosnes; green cloth, etc.

Harness : three saddles, etc.

Book : "The Book of Good Manners."

Another Shetland gentleman, Magnus Leslie of Ayth, had purloined from him, *circa* 1576, by the foud of Shetland, besides, food, drink, cattle, etc., the following articles :—sixteen ells of "keltar"; one pair double blankets; a bed covering; a doublet of cramese; a black cowl, which cost a crown of the sun; three crystal stones set in silver, of the Dutch fashion; copper kettle; a keg, with twelve pounds of soap; tin cans and empty stoops; honey; cruses; pigs (earthenware jars); "stalis"; cups; beakers; together with all his servants' clothing, such as cassies, breeks, doublets.¹

Person-names.—Patronymics were in use in Shetland until early in the nineteenth century, when they became stereotyped. Some names in Shetland appear to have been taken from local place-names. In Orkney the last vestiges of patronymics occur in the sixteenth century. In Orkney, Scottish settlers were rife, and it is probable that the immediate descendants of the first settlers, especially those without historic names, would conform to the prevailing fashion of patronymics, encouraged by local intermarriage; and, later, undoubtedly the Scots set the fashion, and possibly began the adoption of place- as person-names (an advantage to fugitives). With the exception of Scottish and other outland names, nearly all other Orkney person-names are now derived from local place-names. In the early stages of the adoption of place-surnames, and when the custom was in its full vigour, such Orkney place-names as may have replaced Scottish surnames would become permanent; whereas, in the final decay of the fashion in the 18th century, we find, as was to be expected, that the substituted place-surname was, frequently, only of a temporary nature. We also find, in Orkney, that persons readily changed their place-surname for that of a new abode. Taking all this into

¹ Opp. O.Z., 72.

consideration, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to say which families are now of native Norse origin in the male line. Even Blaikie and Halcro, which have hitherto been regarded as the most important Orkney-Norse surnames, are only represented by genuine place-names in Forfarshire and Caithness. Another Forfarshire place-name, Fothringham, is also the surname of an old Orkney family.

Another factor to be considered is the changing of place-names for one or other of the following reasons: (1) the inclination to acquire a property with the same or a similar sounding name to that of the purchaser, and conforming one with the other; (2) the deliberate changing of the place-name to that of the surname of the owner, *e.g.*, the Caithness place-name *Halcro* was given to a place called Holland in South Ronaldsey, which belonged to the Halcro family, in the sixteenth century, and in recent times *Balfour* appears in Shapinsey, (3) personal association has introduced such foreign place-names as Inkerman, Balaclava, Ballarat, etc., while fables have converted Keeso into Kaesar, and Grikalty into Agricola.

Of modern English place-names may be mentioned: News = New-house, Nieland = New-land (old name Orquil, in Orphir), Glowrowra = Glower-over-all, a house on a hill-side, with a wide view.

There are known instances of the glossing of place-surnames, induced by a sensitiveness to fashion. In the ascendancy of Scottish influence, Rusland became Russell, Burgar: Burgess, etc., and conversely, in the full vigour of the Norse influence, Scottish surnames would have been conformed to Orkney forms.

Each Scottish place-man and notable settler would have been followed by a train of relatives, friends, dependents and other persons from the same district, as actually occurred in and after the sixteenth century, of which we have records.

Those persons in Orkney and Shetland who can

prove their descent from the St. Clair earls (which includes all the descendants of bishop Graham) are of viking descent.

As an illustration of the readiness with which Scotsmen became naturalised in the islands, may be mentioned the case of the Scottish-born Scotsman, Lawrence Bruce of Cultmalindie. He was the principal agent in 1575 of the oppressor, lord Robert Stewart, and in 1592 numbered himself, together with seven other persons bearing Scottish names, among the "odallers," and as such supplicated the Scottish parliament against the oppressions of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney (the son of his erstwhile employer), and championed the "gwid subjectis, heritable possessoris of the udack (!) lands in Orkney and Zetland."¹

The bulk of the principal landowners in the islands have had Scottish names for centuries, including some leading óðal families, such as Irvine, Craigie, Cromarty, Sinclair, etc.

The ascendancy of the Scots is only natural, when we consider (1) the proximity of Orkney to Scotland, (2) the succession of the Scottish earls since 1206, (3) the acquisition of the islands by Scotland in 1468, since when the clergy, officials, and their following have been Scots, and (4) the population, especially since the adoption of the English language, has been mainly recruited from Scotland, while considerable emigration of the viking element has been constantly in progress. If the male line of the earls died out in three centuries, as early as 1206, the same is to be expected of, at least, the ruling class as well. But there can be little doubt that there are few in the islands who do not descend, through the distaff side, from the old vikings, whose spirit of adventure and colonisation they have so well maintained in all the British colonies.

¹ Opp. O.Z., 101.

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TEMPLE-ADMINISTRATION AND CHIEFTAINSHIP IN PRE-CHRISTIAN NORWAY AND ICELAND.

By BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS, M.A.

THE union of priestly functions and political power exemplified in the position of the *goðar* in pre-Christian Iceland is a matter on which all scholars agree, and it is generally admitted that, to some extent at least, the political power of this class in Iceland developed as a result of temple-administration.

It is with regard to Norway that views diverge. Were the Norwegian emigrants who came to settle in Iceland accustomed to see political and religious administration combined in one office, and, if so, who were the persons in Norway who wielded this combined power?

The older Norwegian historians, Keyser,¹ Munch,² and Sars,³ all held that the Icelandic constitution must have developed on Norwegian lines, and that the Norwegian prototypes of the *goðar* are the petty kings, jarls, and chiefs (*hersar*), who, as they maintained, must have combined priestly functions with their administrative activities. Maurer⁴ at first supported this view, but on finding that the word *goði* occurred on three Danish Runic stones, he appears to have modified his opinion,⁵ and came to the conclusion that *goðar*, and occasionally

¹ R. Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, ii., 1, pp. 6, 23.

² P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, i., 1, pp. 151 ff.

³ J. E. Sars, *Udsigt over den norske Historie*, i. 220.

⁴ K. Maurer, *Die Entstehung des isländischen Staates*, p. 98 ff.

⁵ K. Maurer, *Zur Urgeschichte der Godenwürde*, *Z.f.d. Phil.* iv. p. 127 ff.

gyðjur, priestesses, exercised priestly functions in Norway and Denmark, but in entire dependence on the chiefs or kings to whom they were attached, and on whose behalf they officiated. He also admits that private temples may have existed in Norway, and suggests that the owners of these might also have been *goðar*. V. Finsen,¹ on the other hand, fails to see any indication of a connection between the chiefs and the temple-administration in Norway, and maintains that the *goðar*, as an independent class of priests, had existed from early times among all Northern peoples, and that the survival of the title in Iceland alone is merely due to the circumstance that there alone did the priests come to play any important part in political life. Later writers² on Northern religion, including Mogk, incline to Maurer's later view, but always basing their opinion mainly on the evidence adduced by him, which Finsen, rightly enough, considered insufficient.

The present essay is due to the writer's conviction that there is room for a more detailed study of the question. The evidence vouchsafed by our sources, though meagre and scrappy in the extreme, does yet seem capable, when collected, of somewhat more exploitation than has hitherto fallen to its lot. A systematic review of all the available items of information may bring us a little nearer to certainty as regards the main question at issue, and may further throw light on some other points.

I.—NORWAY.

It will be best to begin our review of the evidence by considering all that we can glean concerning Norwegian temples and their management. If we begin with the south, the prehistoric temple at Skíringssalr

¹Om den oprindelig Ordning af nogle af den islandske Fristats Institutioner, p. 56 ff.

²Herrmann, Nordische Mythologie; Mogk, Mythologie § 89 (in Paul's Grundriss iii., 399). Golther, Handbuch zur germ.—Myth. (p. 610-12) appears to hold Maurer's earlier view.

is the first to be dealt with. Skíringssalr¹ is generally considered to have comprised the modern district of Tjølling, east of Larvik, in the ancient kingdom of Vestfold, and to have taken its name from a temple (Skíringssalr) supposed to be in the immediate neighbourhood of a royal residence. Sacrifice at Skíringssalr is mentioned in the *Sögubrot af Fornkonungum*,² and in the extracts of its lost continuation as preserved by Arngrímr Jónsson.³ The former breaks off with the words: "Then sacrifices were held at Skíringssalr, to which people flocked from all the 'vík.'" Arngrímr continues the story, telling us that King Sigurd Ring, who seems to have owned lands in these regions, though he was probably of Danish origin, turned aside "in Vickiam Norvegiae provinciam ad facienda sacra ethnica in Sciringssal, quae solennia ibi erant," and there sees Álf sól,⁴ the daughter of King Álfr of Vendssyssel in Denmark. Skíringssalr was thus evidently of more than tribal importance as a religious as well as a mercantile centre, but all that we can glean for our purpose is that the temple was to some extent under the patronage of the Vestfold kings. However, as far as Norwegian custom of that date is concerned, the Skíringssalr evidence is not really conclusive, since these Vestfold kings were not Norwegian in origin, but claimed descent from the Yngling kings of Upsala, and these were certainly regarded as the chief priests of the people. Other evidence for the connection of Norwegian royalty with temples, not so good in itself, but not open to that particular objection, is furnished by the *Fornaldar Sögur*. Thus *Friðjóf's Saga* tells us

¹ G. Storm, *Skiringssal og Sandefjord*, *Hist. Tidskr. Række iv.*, Bd. i., 1901, p. 214 ff. Also A. Kjær: *Hvad var Skíringssalr*, Bd. v. (1908).

² Ch. x. (F.A.S., i., 363-88).

³ Printed in Aarb. f.n. Oldk. 1894, p. 131 ff.

⁴ A kenning containing the word *vēbraut*, and applied to Harald Fairhair, has been quoted as evidence that he was protector of the temple. But it seems that the kenning has no such significance, cp. F. Jónsson, *Heimskringla iv.*, p. 28.

of a King Beli of Sogn, who lives close to Baldrshagi, a great temple, and later on it tells us that his sons, who had succeeded to the kingdom, sacrificed there. And Hervarar Saga knows of a *dísablót*, a sacrifice to the *dísir*, at one King Álf's.

We can now proceed to Vors. Vors or Vøss was the name both of a district in South Hórfjallaland, and of a homestead in that district. The fact that we hear of at least one *Thing*¹ held at the farm Vors suggests that it was the centre of the district, and that it had given its name to the neighbourhood. It seems likely, then, that it was the residence of the *hersir*. All we know of sacrifice at Vors is from a statement in Víga-Glúm's Saga,² where we are told of a great feast there at the winter nights, said to be a sacrifice to the *dísir*, at the temple (?)³ of the *hersir* Vigfús, in about the year 950.

We next reach Gaular, a district comprising the inner part of the Dalsfjord, in the region formerly called Fjalir, in Firðafylki. From various sources⁴ we know that a certain Atli was jarl of Gaular from about 845-870. This Atli joins King Hálfðan hinn svarti, and is made jarl of Sogn by him, and by Harald after him, but it is clear that he was still jarl of Gaular.⁵ Egilssaga⁶ gives us the following information:—"Then (about 868) Atli hinn mjóvi was jarl. He lived at Gaular. . . . It was a certain autumn that there was a great gathering at Gaular for an autumn sacrifice." We further learn that Atli's daughter was present. Atli was killed about 870,⁷ and his last surviving son, Hásteinn, must have left the country shortly afterwards, so we cannot identify the host at the next great sacri-

¹ F.M.S., iv., 270 and probably also F.M.S., i., 64.

² Vgl., ch. 6 (cf. ch. 3).

³ "þar var veizla búin at vetrnóttum ok gjört dísablót . . ."

⁴ Hkr. Halv. sv. ch 3, H.h. ch. 12, Fagrsk. ch. i., 2, Flat. i., 562, 570, etc.

⁵ Fgrsk. 2, hans hafuð bu var á Gaulum. Hkr., Hh. 12. Atli jarl sendi þau orð í mót, at hann mun halda Sygnafylki ok svá Gaulum.

⁶ Eg. 2.

⁷ So F. Jónsson in his Hkr. ed., but cp. Vigfússon, Timatal, p. 290.

fice recorded at Gaular, in the spring of 917,¹ when we are told that great numbers from Firðafylki and Fjalir and Sogn, and most of them important persons, attended, including Þórir, *hersir* of Firðafylki. King Eiríkr Blóðöx was also present. On this occasion Egilssaga vouchsafes the further information that there was a "most splendid chief temple" (*höfuðhof*) there.

But we are fortunate in knowing something more about Gaular. Landnámabók² tells of one Þorbjörn, a powerful *hersir* in Fjalafylki, who was called "enn gaulverski," the man of Gaular. This Þorbjörn had a son Flosi, who emigrated to Iceland, after killing three of Harald's officials, but did not come to Iceland till late, as is clear from the fact that the other settlers called him Flosi *hinn norræni*,³ thus revealing that they already considered themselves Icelanders. So we may assume that he did not go to Iceland until towards 920 or 930, and therefore his father, Þorbjörn, may have lived at Gaular until nearly that date.⁴ Now Flosi's sister, Oddný, also came to Iceland with her son Loptr, and of this Loptr Landnáma relates that he went out to Norway every third summer on behalf of Flosi and himself, to sacrifice at that temple which Þorbjörn, his mother's father, had had charge of at Gaular.⁵ Finsen⁶ says (1) that nothing can be deduced from such an isolated statement, (2) that Þorbjörn may have had charge of the temple before he was *hersir*, (3) that the verb, *varðveita*, to have charge of, does not necessarily imply that he actually officiated. With regard to point (1), we must remember that it rests on Landnáma's unimpeachable testimony, and that it is exactly the

¹ Eg. 49.

² Ld. Hauksbók ch. 315, 323. Sturlubók 368. (F. Jónsson's ed. In the following pages H = Hauksbók, S = Sturlubók).

³ Ld. S., 315.

⁴ Cp. also Timatal, p. 285.

⁵ Ld. H., 323. Loptr fór utan hit iij hvert sumar fyrir hond þeira Flosa beggia moðurbroður sins at blota at hofi því er þorbiorn moðurfaðir hans hafði þar varð veitt a Gaulum. Cp. also Ld. H., 315; S., 368.

⁶ Om den opr. Ord., p. 52.

kind of unexpected statement that bears the stamp of truth upon it, for it is obvious that it could not be invented. The second objection is only a suggestion, and an unlikely one, since it is improbable that Þorbjörn's descendants would have gone to such trouble to keep up sacrificing, if Þorbjörn had only had charge of the temple in his youth. As regards (3) we find that the verb *varðveita* is used of Icelandic *goðar*, having charge of their temple.¹ Moreover there can be little doubt that the grandson at any rate actually officiated, as the word *blóta* (to sacrifice) is used.

We are now faced by several possibilities. Is the temple at Gaular of which Þorbjörn had charge the same as the "chief temple" in Gaular mentioned in *Egilssaga*, and was it at this same temple that Atli held his sacrificial feast in about 868? It certainly seems probable that Þorbjörn had had charge of a chief temple, for his descendants would hardly have thought it worth while to return to sacrifice at a mere private temple. Moreover, if it had only been a private temple, there would have been no reason why Flosi or Loptr should not have removed it, or its most sacred parts, to Iceland, as we know was done with a considerable number of temples. Of course, Atli may have had another temple: the only difficulty in such a supposition is that there should be two, presumably important, temples in so small a district as Gaular. Perhaps Þorbjörn only took over the charge of the temple after the death of Atli in 870. But there is nothing inherently impossible in a jarl and a hersir sharing a temple, at any rate, if any credit can be given to *Njála's* statement with regard to the *Guðbrandsdal* temple. The fact that Loptr returns every *third* summer to sacrifice reminds us of the story in the late *Friðþjóf's Saga*,² in which a *hersir*, Þorbjörn of Sogn, had a third of the kingdom,

¹ Eyrb. 15. Snorri varðveitti þá hof. Vápn. 5. Steinvör var hofgyðja ok varðveitti höfuðhofit.

² Ch. 1.

and made a great feast for the King of Sygnafylki every *third* year. It is just possible that Þorbjörn (or his predecessor) and Atli, and perhaps another *hersir*, took it in turns to hold the sacrificial feasts. We know that the chiefs of the Inner Þrándheimr district took over the charge of the sacrifices in turns. However this may be, we have at least seen that a *hersir* certainly, and possibly a jarl, actually officiated in a chief temple in Gaular. We are unfortunately unable to tell whether the King Auðbjörn of Firðafylki ever played any part in this chief temple.

We now pass on to the temple in Guðbrandsdal, where a *hersir* line ruled from the time of King Hálfðan hinn svarti (or earlier) till the reign of St. Olaf. Njála¹ tells us that the *hersir* Guðbrandr of Jarl Hákon's day (up to 995) was a great friend of that ruler, that the two shared a temple together, the second largest in Norway, which Njála declares was only opened when the jarl came thither. This last is usually regarded as a more than doubtful statement. We hear of the temple again in Heimskringla.² In 1022, when St. Olaf was engaged in forcibly Christianizing the neighbouring districts, the *hersir* Guðbrandr is said to have cut up the war-arrow and summoned all the inhabitants to a small village called Hundþorp. We are told that enormous numbers of men attended. Guðbrandr then makes a speech, in which he refers to "our" temple, and to the image of Thor in it, "which has always aided us." We may discount the historical accuracy of the speech, but it is clear from Snorri's description that he regarded the temple as the main place of worship for the whole neighbourhood.³

¹ Ch. 87.

² Hkr. O.h. 112. Cp. Flat. ii., p. 189.

³ Dr. A. C. Bang, "Om Dale-Gudbrand," 1897, casts doubt on the whole story and even on the existence of Guðbrandr as being a "local legend" (en paa Lokalsagn bygget Legende), but recent researches in many districts seem to reveal a greater substratum of truth in local tradition than has been hitherto admitted. See Gomme, Folklore as a Historical Science.

So far we gain the impression that a *hersir* administers this temple also, especially as Guðbrand builds a church in the Dales after conversion. At one time he may have shared the control of it with a jarl. But the warlike gathering at Hundþorp is next addressed by a Þórðr ístrumagi, and in one good MS.¹ of the Heimskringla version he is called *hofgoði*, temple-priest of the Dalesmen. In the other MS. used for this passage the reading is *höfðingi*, chief, and so in all other versions of the story. One cannot help feeling that it is much more likely that *höfðingi*, a word of frequent occurrence in the Norwegian histories, should have been substituted for *hofgoði*, which is rare even in Icelandic sagas, and not again met with in Heimskringla (except in Ynglingasaga) than that the reverse error should have been made.² Moreover, *höfðingi* would need some further explanation, since it is obvious that Guðbrandr himself was “*höfðingi*” over the Dalesmen.

We now arrive at the largest temple in Norway,³ that at Hlaðir in Strindafylki. The first we hear of Hlaðir is that somewhere about 867 or 868 Haraldr established a “chief residence” there, and called it his home.⁴ Haraldr had made the Jarl Hákon Grjótgarðsson, of Yrjar (on the north side of the fjord), Jarl over Strindafylki about the year 866, and soon we find Hákon called *Hlaða-jarl*, and we hear of his entertaining Haraldr at Hlaðir.⁵

In 943, we find Earl Sigurðr, called Hlaða-jarl like his father, entertaining King Hákon to a Yule-feast (*i.e.*, sacrificial feast), and we are told that Sigurðr was

¹ Cp. Hkr. (Finnur Jónsson's ed.). Indledning. pp. xxiv.-xxvi., and xlvii. ff.

² An Icelandic scribe could the more easily have made the error, as he was in the habit of considering *goði* almost synonymous with *höfðingi*.

³ Odds O.T. 17 (F.M.S. x., 265); vj. 87.

⁴ Hkr. Hh. 9.

⁵ Fgrsk. 2.

a great sacrificer,¹ and that he kept up all sacrificial feasts in Þrándheimr on behalf of the king. If this phrase means anything, the king, if present, was expected to preside over, or perhaps officiate at, sacrificial feasts. Of course, Hákon, as a Christian, would refuse to do this in any case.

We are next told, apparently *à propos* of another feast,² that Sigurðr was the most generous of men, and did a famous deed in giving a great feast at Hlaðir and meeting all expenses himself. We must suppose that he usually provided the horses and cattle for sacrifice, but that the extra expense he incurred on this occasion was in supplying the food and drink, which we are told the worshippers usually brought with them. The third feast³ at Hlaðir mentioned in our sources was in the autumn of 952. The king comes to it, and is made to sit in the high-seat at the feast, instead of remaining apart as he had hitherto done.

The last great Norwegian temple of which we have record is that at Mæri or Mærin (now Mære), an important homestead (later on a royal demesne) in Sparbyggjafylki. The administration of this temple is unique, but we must begin by premising that there had been a jarl of the district of Sparabú⁴ in the 8th century, and that he had fled to Jamtaland before a conquering King Eysteinn, perhaps about 780. Snorri tells us that there was a king⁵ of this fylki until he fell in battle before Haraldr hárfagri in 866. Now Mæri is undoubtedly the chief place in the fylki, so we may assume that either the jarls, or Snorri's somewhat apocryphal king, had lived there.

The first we hear of a temple at Mæri is from Landnámabók, which relates as follows⁶:—"Þorhaddr the Old was temple-priest (*hofgoði*) in Þrándheimr at

¹ Hkr. H.g. 14. The Jarl is called *vés vági-valdr* in a verse: "the protecting custodian of the sanctuary," cp. Hkr. vol. iv, p. 49.

² Hkr. H.g. 14.

³ Ch. 17.

⁴ Hkr. H.g. 12. O.h. 137.

⁵ Hkr. H.h. 7.

⁶ Ld. Hauksbók, ch. 258; Sturlubók, ch. 297.

Mæri. He wished to go to Iceland, and took the temple down first, and had with him the soil of the temple and the pillars. He landed in Stöðvarfjörð and laid the Mæri sanctity over the whole fjord, and allowed nothing to be killed there but the home cattle." This is the only *hofgoði* mentioned in Norway besides Þórðr ístrumagi in Guðbrandsdal. We note that the temple appears to be Thorhadd's private property, since he can unbuild it and remove its sacred pillars.

After thus learning that the Mæri temple had been partly demolished by a private owner, we are somewhat startled, when we next hear of it, to find that it is a "chief temple" (*höfuð hof*),¹ and that eight chiefs, who had most of the management of sacrifices in all Þrándheimr, are making preparations to entertain King Hákon there at a Yule sacrifice,² only a few months after that king had been an unwilling guest at Hlaðir (in 952). Four of these chiefs, we are told, are from Inner Þrándheimr, and four from Outer Þrándheimr. Their names are given, and we note that each is a leading landowner representing one of the eight *fylki* which compose Þrándheimr. These landowners force the luckless king to drink the toasts and eat the sacrificial meat.

We read again³ of preparations for a sacrifice at Mæri, but this was less of a triumph for the heathen chiefs "who had hitherto kept up the sacrifices⁴ at that place." In 998 Olaf Tryggvason agrees with the Þrándheimr heathens that there shall be a great midsummer sacrifice at Mæri, but shortly before it is due he invites everyone to a feast at Hlaðir, and suggests sacrificing twelve chief men. He mentions seven names, of which four⁵ are the same as those of the Inner Þrándheimr farmers mentioned above. Finally

¹ F.M.S. x., 323.

² Hkr. H.g. 18.

³ Hkr. O.T. 67, 68, 69. Flat. i., p. 319.

⁴ Flat. i., p. 319 "höfuðblótum."

⁵ In one case the son.

he enters their temple and throws down the statue of Thorr. We are not told that he destroys the temple, though it seems probable that he would do so.¹

In the reign of St. Olaf it transpires that the Inner Þrándheimr *fylki* still form a religious confederacy,² and that twelve men manage the sacrificial feasts, apparently in turn. St. Olaf surprises them *in flagrante delicto*, and there is an abrupt end to public sacrifices in Norway.

It seems as if there could be but one likely explanation of the successive administrations of this temple. We must suppose that (1) a jarl or king lived at Mæri, and administered a temple, deputing his functions to a *hofgoði*, as in the Guðbrandsdal case, (2) on the departure or death of the king or jarl the *hofgoði* continued his functions until he went to Iceland, taking parts of his temple with him, and (3) after his departure the leading men of the whole of Þrándheimr took over the temple, and confided the care of it to eight men, one from each *fylki*.

We must admit that there is very strong evidence that temple administration in Norway is very closely bound up with chieftainship. Skíringssalr in the south is under the patronage of the Vestfold kings. The great temple in the north, the largest in Norway, is situated at Hlaðir, King Harald Fairhair's self-chosen royal residence. The temple at Gaular is closely connected with a jarl and afterwards with a *hersir*; that at Guðbrandsdal with a *hersir* and traditionally with a jarl. The temple at Hlaðir is obviously kept up by a jarl, though out of originally royal estates. That at Mæri is administered by the chief men of the district.

The voice of tradition is not quite so clear as regards our second point, the exercise of priestly functions in

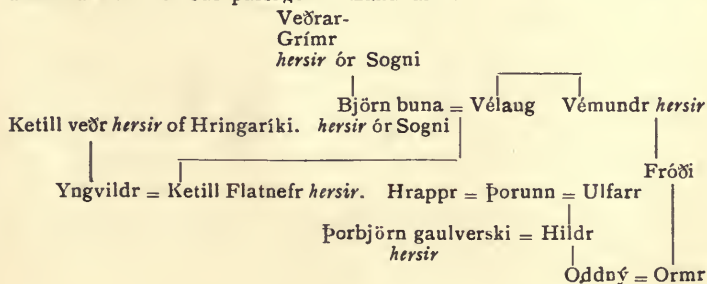
¹ When, later on, one of the leaders is charged by St. Olaf with sacrifices there, he urges that the buildings are large "*hús eru stór*," Hkr. O.h., 108.

² Hkr. O.h., 108, 109.

the temple. There is a very independent temple-priest at Mæri, and probably another, less independent, in Guðbrandsdal. But otherwise we find the jarl Sigurðr himself officiating at Hlaðir, and the *hersir* Þorbjörn at Gaular. One of the Fornaldar Sögur shows us kings officiating at Baldrshagi. With regard to this point, the actual exercise of priestly functions by chiefs, it may be urged that the evidence just quoted comes through Iceland, and is open to the suspicion of having been affected by Icelandic ideas, since the Icelandic historians were themselves used to the idea that priestly functions and political power went hand in hand. But, fortunately, there is some entirely independent and more or less contemporary evidence on this point. The Irish annals tell us that in 841 the Viking "king" Turges took up his abode in Armagh, the holiest place in Erin, and turned the cathedral into a heathen temple, in which he himself officiated as priest. I think this must be accepted as conclusive evidence for the priestly functions of Scandinavian chiefs. I cannot, however, accept it as conclusive evidence for the priestly functions of *kings*, as I find it difficult to credit Turges with royal blood owing to his name. Whether it represents Thorgils or Thorgestr, it is certainly compounded with Thor, and would be unique for that reason in any Scandinavian royal family.

One point is worthy of notice. From some of the genealogies¹ we observe that the jarls and *hersar* (and

¹ The following genealogy may serve as an illustration. It can be deduced from various passages in Landnáma.



to some extent the petty kings) must have formed an almost national Norwegian aristocracy, united by ties of blood. The interests of members of this aristocracy must have far outstripped the narrow limits of the petty kingdom to which the individual belonged. Now we have seen that the great sacrificial feasts were occasions for the chief connected with the temple, whether *hersir* or jarl, to entertain his friends and kinsmen. Such feasts were no doubt the cause of the rise of certain *fylki* temples to intertribal eminence. It may well be that this degree of religious union¹ preceded and fostered political union between the petty states, and made it possible to establish the common *Things* which seem to have been in existence before the time of Harald Hairfair. This must be my justification for taking up so much of your time in marshalling evidence. The connection between temple-administration and chieftainship is important not only in itself, but because, once it is established, public religious observances are indissolubly linked with an aristocracy which forms a network extending far beyond the boundaries of each little kingdom. To discuss the effect of this intertribal aristocracy in neutralizing separatist tendencies in religion lies outside the scope of this paper, but we must realize its probable effects in neutralizing separatist tendencies in politics. The fact that temple-administration was vested in chiefs may thus have been a very important factor in the unification of the kingdom.

II.—ICELAND.

The results of our examination of the Norwegian evidence will have shown us the importance of noting the ancestry of the temple builders, the founders of *goði*-families, among the settlers. The discovery that any large proportion of them were of *hersir* descent

¹ The existence of such intertribal religious unions is proved for a much earlier epoch by Tacitus' account of the common worship of Nerthus, by seven tribes, probably in Sjælland.

would show that the identity of the temple owner and the chief was, at any rate, partially due to Norwegian tradition. We therefore proceed to adduce instances. The *hersir* Böðvarr of Vors (brother of the *hersir* Vigfús already mentioned) settles in Iceland, builds a temple, and becomes a *hofgoði*;¹ Ketill hæng, ² son of an earl of Naumudal, called *ágiætr* by Landnáma, settles at Hof ³ in Rangárvellir; Jörundr *goði*,⁴ son of Hrafn hinn heimski, and eighth in descent from King Haraldr hilditönn, builds a temple; Ketilbjörn ⁵ of Naumudal, called *ágiætr* by Landnáma, which uses the word as equivalent to "of *hersir* (or jarl) birth," ⁶ settles at Mosfell and has a temple: Höfða-Þórðr,⁷ *ágiætr*, and said to be descended from Ragnar Loðbrók, dwells at Hof in Höfðaströnd, and is the ancestor of a line of *goðar*; Helgi bjóla,⁸ son of the *hersir* Ketill flatnefr, dwells at another Hof (apparently in spite of being a Christian in name); Eiríkr,⁹ *ágiætr*, settles at Hof in Goðdalir and is counted among the foremost settlers; Ingimundr ¹⁰ hinn gamli, son of the exiled Þorsteinn, son of the *hersir* Ketill raumr, dwells at Hof in Vatnsdal and has a temple. The two sons of Asbjörn, son of the *hersir* Heyjangrs-Björn of Sogn, Véþormr ¹¹ and Ozurr,¹¹ come to Iceland, and must clearly have had a temple, since Véþormr's daughter is called *hofgyðja*, and Ozurr's son *Freysgoði*. Another Icelandic *hofgyðja*, Þorlaug,¹² is descended on her mother's side, if not on her father's, from *hersar*. Then

¹ Flat. i. 249; cp. Vgl. 5, Ld. i., 338; ii., 385.

² Ld. H. 303, S. 344. (Only the main references are given.)

³ *Hof* always means "Temple" in Iceland.

⁴ Ld. H. 305, S. 346.

⁵ Ld. H. 338; S. 385; his mother was daughter of an earl.

⁶ See Cleasby and Vigfússon Dict., sub. *ágiætr*.

⁷ Ld. H. 175, etc.

⁸ Ld. H. 14; S. 14.

⁹ Ld. H. 163.

¹⁰ Ld. H. 145; Vats. 17.

¹¹ Ld. H. 276; S. 316.

¹² Ld. H. 29.

there is Þórðr skeggi,¹ son of Hrappr (called *ágiætr*), son of the famous *hersir* Björn buna. Þórðr brought his temple pillars from Norway, as did also Hrollaugr,² son of the Jarl Rögnvaldr (and half-brother of Göngu-Hrólfr of Normandy). We may further note Þorgrímr *goði* Kjallaksson³ of Bjarnarhöfn, who is of *hersir* lineage on both sides. This is far from an exhaustive list, but in view of the difficulty of ascertaining who built temples on arriving in Iceland, and the second difficulty of discovering the genealogy of those who did, we have mentioned enough cases to show that just as *hersar* and jarls had temples in Norway, so a very large proportion of the more important temples in Iceland were built by descendants of *hersar* and jarls. On the other hand some few settlers of *hersir* rank appear not to have built temples, unless we are to suppose that their descendants lost the ownership of them. And again, other temple-builders are not stated to have been of *hersir* rank, though of course it is impossible to prove a humbler origin for them. Þórólfr *mostrar-skegg*,⁴ who brought his temple-pillars with him from Norway, and is supposed to have founded the first *þing*, is sometimes quoted as being of less exalted rank, but the assumption seems somewhat rash, especially as he is called the foremost man⁵ on the island of Mostr, his Norwegian home. On the whole it seems safe to assume that temple-builders, if not always of *hersir* lineage, had at any rate been men of importance in Norway. Of course we must make some allowance for opportunities of rising afforded by the conditions of life in a new country.

If we have established that the early *goðar* in Iceland came of a powerful governing class, it seems worth while to enquire whether the possession of a temple was quite such an essential factor in the acquirement of temporal power as it is usually held to have

¹ Ld. H. 14.² Ld. H. 270.³ Ld. H. 72.⁴ Ld. H. 73.⁵ Eyrb. 3

been. That the possession of a temple finally came to be a necessary qualification for a legal chieftainship we do not deny, but there seems reason to suspect that chiefs could rule *þingmenn* and hold sway over a district without it. That this was the case in the actual period of settlement there can be no doubt. For instance, Auðr djúpúðga,¹ though a Christian, exercised at least as much influence in her district as any temple-owning heathen. Of course it is true that her neighbours were mainly dependents and nominally Christians, but Ketill fíflski,² another Christian, who settled in a district entirely heathen as far as Norwegian immigrants were concerned, is yet reckoned among the foremost settlers in the East country. Another case is that of Úlfr h. skálgi,³ fourth in descent from a king. He comes to Iceland and settles in Reykjanes. With him comes out a man named Hallr, of high birth, who built a temple "because Úlfr was no sacrificer." We are then told that Hallr was a great chief, and many men then turned their allegiance to him (*i.e.*, away from Úlfr). It is thus clearly implied that Úlfr, though not a *goði*, had a chieftainship. But there are clearer instances than this. We know that Hrafnkell Freysgoði, on hearing of the destruction of his temple by Sámr, decided that it was "vanity to believe in gods," and never sacrificed again,⁴ nor had he a temple in his new surroundings, yet he gathers together *þingmenn*, and soon has a regular *þinghá* or district, and his sons take on the *mannaforráð*,⁵ chieftainship, after him. Now Sámr, the travelled atheist who destroys the temple, cannot by any possibility be supposed to have charge of one, yet even without the prestige which we may suppose Hrafnkell to have retained, he also gains *mannaforráð*. This occurs as late as about 947-953.⁶

¹ Laxd. 6, 7.

² Ld. H., 354.

³ Þorsk. i.

⁴ Hrafnk. 7.

⁵ Hrafnk. 10. The fact that Hrafnkell is said to have a *goðorð*, ch. 9, can be explained by the later meaning of the word, chieftainship.

⁶ Tímal, p. 495.

It must be remembered that *Hrafnkels Saga* is remarkably trustworthy. Unfortunately this cannot be so unreservedly stated of the next saga from which we will quote, *Vatnsdæla*, but the incident in question is so circumstantially related, and so much opposed to what the actual writer of the saga would consider probable, that it is certainly to be credited. On the death of Ingimundr¹ his sons decide that whichever of them shall make a successful plan to avenge him shall choose some valuable part of their property for himself. Þorsteinn is successful, and he chooses the homestead of Hof and the land that goes with it. The brothers then shared up the rest of their inheritance, and the *goðorð* fell to Þórir's share. But Þorsteinn became chief (*höfðingi*) over *Vatnsdal* and *Vestrhóp* and all those districts which had owned allegiance to Ingimundr, his father.² Finally, in return for good advice given by him to Þórir, Þorsteinn begs that his sons may have the *goðorð*. All this takes place between c. 935-950.³ It is here made perfectly clear that the *goðorð*, i.e., priesthood, was distinct from the chieftainship.

At last we see the reason for the constantly used combination : *goðorð ok mannaforráð*. In earlier Icelandic usage these words are not synonymous, as the dictionaries would lead one to suppose, and their history is extremely different. *Goðorð* is an ancient word : *mannaforráð* is a new word, coined in Iceland to express the type of political and administrative power exercised by Icelandic chiefs. *Goðorð* meant priesthood, and nothing more, when the Icelanders first settled in the new country : indeed, it may be doubted whether the meanings of these two words were ever merged into one until after the introduction of Christianity.

It is possible that the revised law of 965, restricting the number of *goðar*, was partly aimed against chiefs whose authority was solely temporal. Such chieftainships would have no guarantee of stability, since they

¹ Vats. ch. 24, 27.² Vats. ch. 37.³ *Tímatal*, p. 495.

would lack all tangible sign of union. Now Professor Björn Ólsen has suggested that the ready acceptance of Christianity in the year 1000 is partly to be ascribed to the agitations and discontent of *ex-goðar* or their sons, who had been dispossessed of chieftainship by the law of 965. It seems more than probable that the ranks of these "outsiders" were swelled by families who had exercised chieftainship without possessing a temple, or who had allowed their temple to descend to another branch of the family.

And this seems the place to consider such information as we can glean about *gyðjur*, priestesses. We are told of one Steinvör in the east of Iceland that she was *hofgyðja*, and had charge of the chief temple. She complained to the local chief, Broddhelgi, whose kinswoman she was, that a certain man, a Christian, had refused to pay the temple-tax. Broddhelgi said he would deal with the matter, but as a matter of fact it was allowed to drop.¹ Here we note (1) that Steinvör is a relative of Broddhelgi, and (2) therefore belongs to a distinguished family, and (3) her sphere is entirely limited to temple-jurisdiction. We know of three other well-attested *gyðjur* in Iceland,² of whom two at least are of *hersir* family. How entirely one of these, Thorlaug, daughter of Hrólf the younger, must have been identified with the priestly office seems to follow from certain words in *Landnáma* which have hardly received the attention they deserve. "Hrólf the younger married his daughter, Þorlaug *gyðja*, to Oddi Yrason. *For that reason* he moved house west to Ballará, and dwelt there a long while, and was called Hrólf at Ballará."³ Evidently his daughter, the priestess, could not move to her husband's house, as she could not leave the temple. The other two

¹ Vápn., ch. 5.

² Þúriðr *gyðja* Solmundardóttir (Ld. H. 147); Þúriðr *hofgyðja* Véþormsdóttir (Ld. H. 276) and Þorlaug *gyðja* Hrólfsdóttir (Ld. H. 29).

³ Ld. H. 29, S. 41, þui reðzt hann vestr til Ballarár.

gyðjur are Þuríðr *gyðja* Sölmundardóttir and Þuríðr *hofgyðja* Veðormsdóttir. Besides this, Friðgerðr, the wife of Þórarinn fylsenni, sacrifices in a temple, at any rate during his absence, and is called *gyðja* in a verse.¹ It seems probable that in all these cases some male kinsman or the husband had *mannaforráð*, chieftainship. The case of Þórarinn fylsenni, just at the close of the tenth century, suggests that even after the revised law of 965 *mannaforráð* could still be held apart from priestly office, if the latter was in the hands of a kinswoman. We can quite understand that there would be less danger in the separation of the two offices, if the priestly functions were performed by a woman, who would be precluded from winning a real political ascendancy. The mention of four *gyðjur* in those of our sources which deal with the heathen period seems to suggest that they were a fairly large class. We are thus rendered less sceptical of the Norwegian *gyðjur* mentioned in the Fornaldarsögur, and can credit the story of Álfhildr, to whom we are introduced while she is performing a sacrifice at night. The case of Turges' wife, who acts as priestess at Clonmacnois, may also be remembered. But in considering priestesses it must be admitted to be possible, and even probable, that we must set very definite limits to their activities and prevalence at the close of heathen times. There seems to be reason for suspecting that women only performed functions as priestesses in the service of the group of divinities, Njörðr, Freyja, and Frey, and in *dísir*-worship, which may possibly be a cult of ancestors. We know of so few *gyðjur* that it is surely of importance to note what a large proportion of them are connected with these cults. To begin with the Elder Edda. Hyndluljóð mentions the *gyðja* Hlédís, the mother of that Óttarr who builds a *hörg* for Freyja and sacrifices to her. Then there is the story told in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason, in the Flateyjarbók ver-

¹ Kristni S. ch. 2.

sion, ch. 173, where Gunnarr helmingr meets the priestess of Frey in Sweden. Again, *Hervarar Saga* shows us Álfhildr reddening a *hörg* at night. Now all the references we possess to this form of sanctuary show that in Norway it was dedicated to the Vanir—to Frey or Freyja. Then we have Þuríðr *hofgyðja* in Iceland, whose maternal half-brother (and first cousin on the father's side), is called *Freysgoði*, which at any rate suggests that the family was addicted to the worship of this god. It is thus fully possible that while both men and women might be priests or priestesses of Frey or Freyja, in late heathen times women were excluded from public office in the service of Thor. We must note that the temples of two *hofgoðar* mentioned in Norway, at Mæri and at Guðbrandsdal, are both traditionally associated with Thor.¹

To sum up. There is reason to believe that besides the persons exercising combined priestly and political power, there were in Iceland three other classes of chiefs, at least until 965. (1) Persons like Hrafnkell Freysgoði, exercising political ascendancy in entire independence of a temple. (2) Persons like Þorsteinn Ingimundarson, who exercised political ascendancy, but in whose family the priestly office had fallen to another of the co-heirs. (3) Persons like Broddhelgi, or Hrólf the Younger, who exercised political ascendancy, but whose temple was in the hands of a kinswoman.

In Iceland, where there was at first no other bond to attract dependents, and where at first no settled *thing*-places brought people together independently of the sacrificial feasts, the temple must have loomed large in the public eye, and we can understand that those who succeeded in consolidating their power were those who possessed and administered this central meeting-place. and who, further, did not have to delegate to others

¹Olaf. Tryggvason throws down the statue of Þórr at Mæri, Hkr. O.T. 69. In the Guðbrandsdal temple is the image of Þórr "which has always aided us." Hkr. O.h. 112.

the observances that gave their acts a religious sanction. Hence the final success of the temple-owners in the race for power. And here we must be allowed to enter a protest against the view, recently repeated both in German and English books, that the mass of the Icelandic settlers were half-Christian, wholly atheistic, or sunk in special and degrading superstitions. The incidental mention of a couple of "godless" men, or the supposition that heathendom must have been sapped by a Viking life, can weigh as nothing against the fact that the communal religious feeling in Iceland was so strong that it shaped the whole political and administrative structure. Chieftainships not connected with temples were fore-doomed to extinction.

Indeed, if one may be permitted to conclude with a generalization, one of the most remarkable things about early Scandinavian history is the constitutional importance of religion among a people so entirely lacking in a priestly caste. We understand and are ready to make allowances for the vast power wielded by the Druids among the Celtic peoples, but the absence of priestcraft among the Scandinavians ought not to blind us to the influences exerted by religion on the social structure. We have seen reason to suspect that at least twice in the history of Scandinavia religious union preceded and fostered political union, and I hope we have also had a glimpse of how the political fabric of the youngest of the Scandinavian States was slowly built up on the basis of its religious organization.

THYRA, THE WIFE OF GORM THE OLD, WHO WAS SHE, ENGLISH OR DANISH?

BY CAPTAIN ERNEST RASON.

THE lecture which I am to communicate to you to-night is not by any means intended as a final settlement of the question, "Thyra, the wife of Gorm the old, who was she, English or Danish?" It is, on the contrary, merely an attempt to state the case in England, to call attention to the issues involved, and to interest, if possible, other English enquirers.

The lecture is a development of the evidence I have collected on the subject during research on another theme, "Russia as the Eldorado of Canute the Great." The question of Thyra is for me but a side issue, yet as Denmark came largely into my main work, its history had to be investigated for a certain period before Canute's reign. Whilst doing this the so-called Conquest of England by the Danes was forced upon my notice in a manner it had never been before. English boys are rarely taught their own early history, but rather that of Greece and Rome. It was with a distinct feeling of relief that I read in *Saxo Grammaticus* that Thyra was the daughter of Ethelred, King of England. If Thyra were the daughter of Ethelred, King of England, then the invasion of Svein and Canute was no foreign conquest, but merely a dynastic change brought about by Danish ships and Danish troops, and on the same principle as the Wars of the Roses, except that in the latter Welsh and French troops were employed. When I came to consider the question further I found that the most recent Danish opinion on the matter was so divided, that in the *Danmarks Riges Historie* of 1906 the question is stated as follows: "Some people say that Thyra was the daughter of an English king, but

others with more probability that she was the daughter of Klak Harald, Jarl in Holstein." This statement seemed to call for examination, certainly from an Englishman. There is every appearance on the face of it that it was written in deference to a divided opinion, although Professor Steenstrup's name is connected with this particular part of the history.

The elder Danish writers before the end of the sixteenth century either followed Saxo in his opinion, or they had some other source for their statement, except Cornelius Hamsfortii, who calls Thyra the daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of the wife of Otto I., Emperor of Germany. This, of course, is wrong, but it points to a general idea that Thyra was the daughter of an English king.

Besides the old Danish writers, my authorities for the lecture are the *Heimskringla*, by Snorre Sturlason, the *Jomsborg Vikings Saga*, and the *Knytlinga Saga*, perhaps the best and most reliable of the Icelandic sagas dealing with this particular time. I shall take the latter part of the the question first, and consider what the sagas say about Thyra as the daughter of Klak Harald, Jarl in Holstein.

Carlyle, than whom we have no better judge, said of the *Heimskringla* of Snorre Sturlason that it ought to be reckoned amongst the great history books of the world, were it properly published with accurate maps and well edited. This saga was translated into English as long ago as 1844, and it has recently (1899) been edited and published anew by Rasmus Anderson, some time Minister for the United States at the Court of Copenhagen. For the *Jomsborg* and *Knytlinga Sagas* I have used Rafn's translation into Danish (1829).

The contention that Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald rests almost entirely on the sagas. It was not heard about at all till towards the end of the sixteenth century, about 1594, when the sagas were translated for the first time from Icelandic. The *Heimskringla* tells

us that a certain Thorny, the wife of Sigurd Hiörtr, was the sister of Thyra Danmarkarbót, married to King Gorm the old, who at that time reigned over the Danish dominions; this Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald. Thorny was the grandmother of Harald Fairhair, King of all Norway, and we are told that Harald was born when his mother, Ragnhild, was twenty years old. Harald Fairhair died about 930, and succeeded his father at the age of ten, about 860, so that his mother, Ragnhild, must have been born in 830, and allowing twenty years for Thorny's age when Ragnhild was born, we get 809 for the birth of Thorny, the sister, according to the saga, of Thyra. The same saga tells us that Harald Fairhair, when he was about fifteen years of age, wishing for a wife, sent a deputation to Gyda, the daughter of King Erik in Hörðaland, but she refused to come, saying that she would not wed until she found the man who could reduce all the kings of Norway as Gorm the old had done in Denmark. This settles, as far as the saga is concerned, the date when Gorm had established his paramount power in Denmark, viz., about 865. It may be observed that Thyra, the daughter of Ethelred of England, was not yet born.

The Jomsborg Saga gives a highly descriptive and detailed account of the courting of Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, by Gorm. Thyra is said to have been so wise and intelligent that she was already associated with her father in the government of his small kingdom, when Gorm came down from the North of Jutland to woo her. Gorm had a large party with him, and Thyra was not ready to give her love at once, nor Harald to part with her; but Gorm, in the rough and ready manner of those days, said that if her father would not give her to him for wife he would take her by force, which, it appeared, he was quite capable of doing. Under these circumstances Thyra decided to play with him by her wiles and wisdom till she was ready for him,

or perhaps to give her father time to prepare for resistance. Thyra told Gorm he must go home: there he must have a house built in the forest no larger than to hold one bed; on this bed he was to sleep alone for three nights, and if he dreamt dreams he was to send her an account of them, so that she might ascertain whether it would be a happy marriage.

Gorm went to his place in the north, and had a house constructed out in the forest only large enough to hold one small bed, in which he slept alone; but, being a wise man, he placed a guard of 300 men round the house in the forest to guard against surprise. Under these circumstances he dreamt his dreams in peace; they are somewhat curious, and have a sort of resemblance to those of Pharaoh. The first dream was that he found himself out under the open heaven looking over all the land of his kingdom. Then the sea seemed to go back from the land till all the salt water lakes and fords were dry. Presently he saw three boars come up out of the sea; they begged his pardon, and then they fed on the grass around and went back into the sea. These boars were white. The second dream was that three boars came out of the sea, but they were of a red colour, and had large tusks, and behaved just like the first three. The third dream was the same, but the boars were black, and had the largest tusks of all. When these last boars had gone he heard a mighty noise, so loud that he thought it must have been heard over all Denmark, and the sea came back on the land with awful force. Thyra interpreted these dreams—the three White Boars were three very cold winters, when there would be much snow, and all the fruits of the ground would be damaged; the three Red Boars were three winters when there would be little snow, and the three Black Boars signified wars in the land, and that they all went back into the sea proved that these troubles would not continue long. The noise of the sea when it came back on the land again meant that

mighty men would come on the land with great wars, and many of his relations would take part. If he had dreamed this the first night she would not have married him, but now there would not be so much injury, because she would give advice which would be proclaimed throughout the land.

It seems as if these dreams had been added by some one who knew the Bible account of the dreams of Pharaoh and their interpretation. They have been added by the Christian skalds in their version of the story as told in Iceland. We at least know from another account in the saga that at that time Klak Harald was a heathen, a believer in the old gods and all the superstitions attending such a belief. After Gorm and Thyra had gone back to their homes in the north, Klak Harald was invited to visit his son-in-law at Yuletide. He left for the north in time to be at the Yule-feast, but on the way he saw an apple tree, on which were small green apples. This was very remarkable for the season of the year, and on the ground were many larger apples, arousing great astonishment in Harald and his followers, so that they turned and went home again. The next year Harald went north again to the Yule-feast, invited by his son-in-law, and had almost reached the Lim-fjord, when something happened to the hounds he had with him, and this caused him to give up his visit and go home again. The third year he went north again, and reached the ferry over the Lim-fjord on the western side. When he was at the ferry it seemed as if two waves arose, one from inside the fjord and the other from outside, they met at the entrance to the fjord, and then they seemed to turn into blood; and for the third time Harald's superstitious fears were aroused, and he returned home. From the above we can judge, that as far as the circumstances of the saga are concerned, at the time of his daughter's marriage, and for three years after, Klak Harald was a heathen, with all the heathen superstitions. We also know very well

when Christianity came into his country, for it was brought by the celebrated St. Anskar in 825. He established a small church at Ribe on the west coast, and another celebrated priest became the pastor of the church, viz., Rembertus. We also learn from German history when Klak Harald was made a Christian. He was baptized at Mainz in 826.

From the above history we can calculate that Thyra must have been married to Gorm about 825, which would make her birth fall about 806 to 812, and point her out as about the same age as her sister Thorny, the wife of Sigurd Hiort.

The same saga tells us that Gorm had two sons, Canute and Harald, that Harald was much younger than Canute, and that Canute was brought up chiefly at the house of his grandfather, Klak Harald, and when old enough was given a portion of his kingdom to govern; this marks Canute down as born some time before 834, as Klak Harald died in 846, and Canute must have been twelve years old at least when he was given a kingdom to govern. This would make him at least one hundred years old when he was killed in 936. These three calculations from the side of the Heims-kringla of the birth of Thorny, from the side of the Jomsborg Saga of the marriage of Gorm, and from the story of Canute's being given a portion of the kingdom to govern, give approximately the same date for the marriage of Thyra, daughter of Klak Harald, to Gorm, viz., 825, and for her birth any date from 806 to 812.

Of Canute, we hear that he was killed in England or Ireland on a Viking cruise, and he left, so far as is known, but one son, Gold-Harald, who perished in 969. What the age of Harald was we are not told, but if his father Canute was seventy when he was born, Gold-Harald must have been about sixty-six at the time he was killed, and nearly as old as Harald Bluetooth, his uncle.

Now we will consider the case of Harald Bluetooth.

We are told in the Jomsborg Saga that he was much younger than his brother, and there seem to have been some signs of enmity between them, for we find the Jomsborg Saga saying that Harald killed Canute, which cannot be right, yet we find from the Heimskringla that even if Harald did not kill his brother, he may be almost considered as an accessory to the death of Gold-Harald. He was afraid that Gold-Harald would attempt to fight him for half the land of Denmark, and, by an arrangement with Earl Hakon, Gold-Harald was killed.

If there is one thing certain about Harald Bluetooth it is his death, which happened within a year on either side of 986. We have decided that Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, was born not later than 812. Can she possibly have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth? We are told in Medical Jurisprudence that sixty years is the extreme limit of a woman's powers of bearing children, though we have the account of Sarah, who bore Isaac at the age of ninety, which has been a standing wonder for centuries. We cannot suppose that Thyra was any exception to the common lot, and therefore she cannot have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth, whatever her relation to Cnut Danaast may have been.

We are told in *Danmarks Riges Historie* that Thyra knew from her birth the necessity of building a Danevirke, with which the name of Thyra is connected, and this is considered one of the side proofs that Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald, as she was brought up near the Danevirke. But it is evident that she could not have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth, neither could she have governed the kingdom in Gorm's old age.

I think now we have come to the time when we may say that it is most probable that Thyra the daughter of Klak Harald, was not the mother of Harald Bluetooth.

We will now take the case of Thyra as the daughter of Ethelred, King of England, a fact which Saxo distinctly states in his history. Here he is in company with all the old writers of Denmark before the end of the sixteenth century, except Cornelius Hamsfortii, who says that Thyra was the daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of the wife of Otto I., Emperor of Germany, which of course is wrong; but Thyra as the daughter of Ethelred would have been a second cousin of Editha, Otto's wife.

Thyra was, of course, a Christian, but there is a curious story in Saxo of her wishing for dreams as to the future before she would give herself up to her husband, and there is a statement that Canute and Harald went over to England to wrest the kingdom from their grandfather; but, of course, this is incorrect, as Ethelred must have been dead before Gorm even married Thyra. Yet there is no doubt that Harald and Canute were in England at different times, and they, or at least Harald, may have had some idea that he had a claim on the kingdom.

What history teaches us about the children of Ethelred is very little; we know from the will of Alfred the Great that there was a difference over their money matters between the two brothers, and it was finally agreed that all the money should go to the survivor unless the other had left a will. Ethelred died first, and somewhat suddenly, without making a will, and Alfred took all the money to himself, leaving in his will only seven small manors to his nephews, Athelmær and Ethelwold, and six manors between his daughters; but he stated that he only left to the spindle side what had belonged to him and Ethelred, and not what had been left by his father. This may be a reason why no mention is made of any daughter of Ethelred in the will. In the time of Alfred, when a younger brother was made king in consequence of the youth of his elder brother's children, as Alfred the Great was,

then it was usual for the elder brother's children, if they were grown up, to inherit the kingdom after their uncle, and not the younger brother's children. But King Alfred, having all the money and all the power, managed that his own son, Edward the Elder, should succeed him, to the detriment of Ethelred's children. Ethelwold, the youngest of the two sons of Ethelred mentioned in the will, did attempt to establish his prior right to the throne, in which he was assisted by the Normans and Dánes of East Anglia and North-umberland. It must be remembered that the North of England north of Watling Street was almost entirely Danish at this time; and it was the Danes who backed Ethelwold. Gorm might even have been amongst them. Unfortunately, Ethelwold was killed, and the rising subsided.

Steenstrup, in his *Normanerne*, when referring to the building of the *Danevirke* and the Burghs in England, calls attention to the similarity of their construction, especially about the escarpment of the ditch, as being different from the German and French *burgs*, which were also being built about that time. He adds that there was another similarity; that they were built by women, and women whose husbands were ill at the time; and he adds a third resemblance, if Saxo is right, that is, that both were built by the daughters of a king. He might have added that there was no wonder that they were alike, as they were built by cousins, for Thyra, the daughter of Ethelred, was the cousin of Athelflæd, who built the burghs in England.

In another part of the same book Professor Steenstrup calls attention to the great number of treacheries which took place in England during the invasion of England by Svein and Canute, and he adds that there are not many instances in all history that a nation has been so often and so thoroughly betrayed by its own people as the Anglo-Saxons were at that time, except there had been a dynastic strife. But if Thyra was the

daughter of Ethelred, then the so-called invasion of Svein and Canute was a dynastic strife; for they had more right to the throne than Ethelred the II. They were in fact, almost in the same condition relative to Ethelred II., as the Duke of York and his son, Edward IV., were to Henry VI. at the time of the Wars of the Roses. The Duke of York was unquestionably heir general of the royal line through his mother Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, son of Phillippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., as against the reigning sovereign, Henry VI., a weak king, descended from a younger brother of Lionel. Similarly we may say that Svein was undoubtedly heir general of the royal line by his grandmother, Thyra, daughter of Ethelred I., elder brother of Alfred the Great, as compared with the weak king, Ethelred II., descended from the younger brother, Alfred the Great. The similarity in the treacheries is far too striking not to be the result of the same cause, viz., a dynastic struggle, and is strong corroborative evidence for the accuracy of Saxo's statement that Thyra was the daughter of Ethelred I.

The number of traitors in both cases was very large, and includes all sorts and conditions of men. The great traitors, Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, in the Wars of the Roses, are well represented by Ælfric and by Eadric Streona; the latter's constant changes of side and near connection to the King Ethelred II. are on a par with that of the Duke of Clarence, for the treachery of Eadric Streona has never been properly explained. It puzzled Professor Freeman, but I think, in the light of a dynastic dispute, his change of side may be accounted for.

Eadric Streona was the son of one Æthelric of Bocking, in Essex, who was accused to the king about 995 that he had said that Svein ought to be received in Essex; this accusation appears to have been kept in reserve till his will was brought to be confirmed by

King Ethelred II.; Eadric Streona was the Thane of Oswald, at one time Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of York, who was a Dane, and a great friend, I think a nephew, of Archbishop Odda, who was Archbishop of Canterbury. This gave Eadric a very good start in life, and his father could not have been such an unknown person as Freeman has stated, and as we know Eadric married Ethelred's daughter. Amongst the signatures to the will of Æthelric of Bocking is the signature of Æthelmaer, immediately after those of the bishops, and at the head of the Thanes. This is most probably Æthelmaer, the great Earl of Wessex, son of the historian, Æthelweard, who claimed descent from Ethelred I., but whether from a son or another daughter is not known. These people must have known that Svein was the head of the House of Ethelred I., and may have been in league with him to restore their common ancestors' family to the throne. When Svein came south from Gainsborough we find the Wessex thanes met him at Bath to give their allegiance, and when Canute came back in 1015, after Svein's death, Æthelmaer and the Wessex thanes welcomed him, and after the defeat at Penselwood we find that Æthelmaer still clung to Canute, for he was at the Battle of Sherston near Malmsbury.

When Canute, after the death of Edmund Ironside, divided the kingdom of England into earldoms, he reserved Wessex for himself. Was it because it was the rightful property of his ancestors?

The contention that Svein and his son Canute had, like the Duke of York and his son Edward IV., a prior right to the throne of England over the then reigning king, accounts for so many difficulties in the history of that time, that it may be taken as strong corroborative evidence in favour of Saxo's account of Thyra's birth. It accounts for most of the treachery during the so-called conquest of England by Svein and Canute, it accounts for the special form of treachery of Eadric

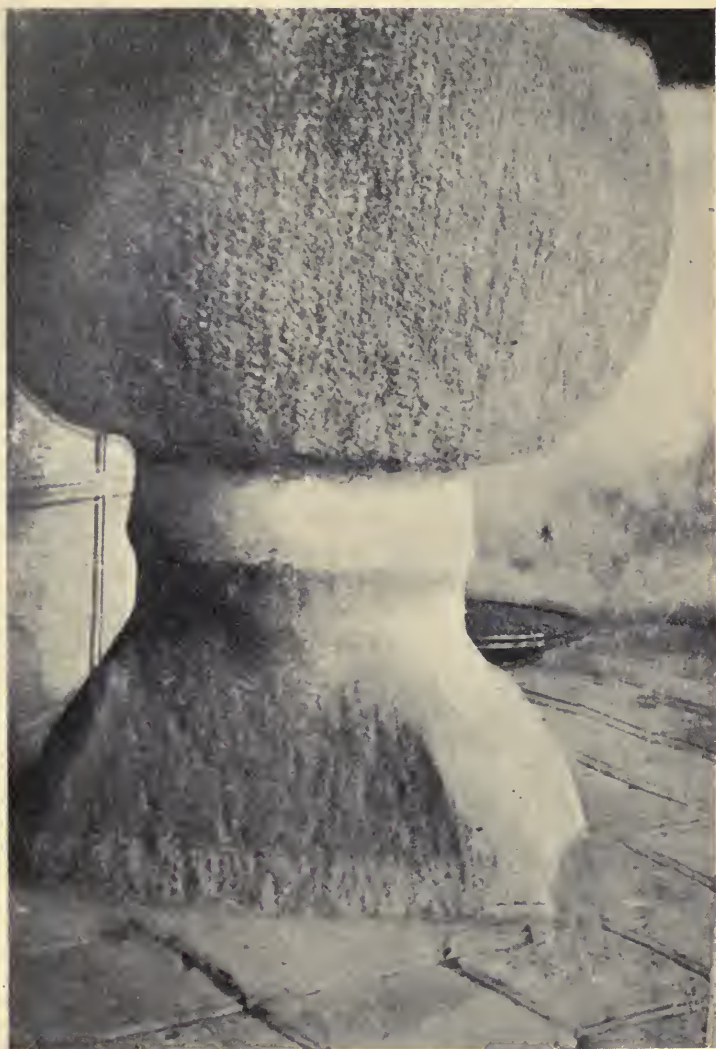
Streona, it accounts for the change back to Ethelred II. when Svein died, as being the most fitting man of the descendants of Æthelwulf left in England, bad as he was; as well as for the return to Canute when he had proved himself as fitting a man as his father. It accounts for the willingness to divide the kingdom between the two rival dynasties, and finally it accounts for the wonderful manner in which England accepted the rule of Canute, when once he had asserted his right to the throne, both by descent and conquest and by election, just in the same manner as the English people behaved towards Edward IV., when once his power was established.

Now I hope I have persuaded you that the account of Thyra's birth ought to be that some people say she was the daughter of Klak Harald, a Jarl or King in Holstein, but that it is more probable that she was the daughter of Ethelred, King of England. I have one other piece of proof, which, although it could not be brought in by itself, can at least confirm the already considerable body of evidence. About the time that, according to the sagas, Gorm and the daughter of Klak Harald were being married, viz., in 825, Christianity was first brought to Denmark by St. Anskar, and he founded a small church at Ribe, a port close to the sea on the west coast of Denmark in those days, but now somewhat inland. It is just to the south of the islands of Fanö and Manö, close to which latter is the now flourishing port of Esbjerg, which was, however, non-existent sixty years ago. At Ribe there was a Christian church built, and Rembertus was the pastor. He succeeded St. Anskar as Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen in 865, but he no doubt kept up his interest in the church of Ribe until his death in 888, for the port of Ribe was only a few hours' sail from Hamburg. Opposite Ribe, on the south part of the small island of Fanö is the village of Sönderho. Some sixty years ago, before the great changes which took place as a



THYRA'S FONT AT SÖNDERHO.—I.

consequence of the increasing trade of the port of Esbjerg, a Mr. Marryat was travelling in Denmark for archæological purposes. At Sönderho he heard a tradition that Thyra, the wife of Gorm, the daughter of an English king, had given the font to the old Sönderho church in consequence of her having been saved from drowning when she was wrecked off Manö island on her way to Ribe to marry Gorm the old. Mr. Marryat did not pay much attention, and merely remarks that the font was an unshapely mass of granite. There is no doubt that the font, looked at casually, is to-day an unshapely mass, but on examination it may be noticed that from one direction it is very graceful and symmetrical, although from others most ungainly and ugly; further examination will show that the font has been badly treated, and much of it roughly broken, especially at the sides, just like the monuments in our churches were treated at the time of the Commonwealth, and that the greater part of the rim has been chipped away. There are five other granite fonts in Jutland, one close to Sönderho at Brondon, on the mainland. These are of the twelfth century; they have four crosses on the rim and one or two on the side. We can now see why the sides of the Sönderho font were broken, viz., to get rid of the crosses on the font rim and on the side. It seems very probable that the font at Sönderho had originally some crosses on the side and on the rim, which at some time were broken away, and it takes a great deal to break away the side of a granite font; it was done purposely. There is no doubt that at one time the font was an extremely fine one and very graceful in its outline, and it was made at a time when good workers did work for Christian buildings. In comparison with the five fonts made in the twelfth century it was much more graceful in its lines. This font later fell into disrepute, was roughly treated by somebody's orders, for no amount of casual damage would equal the harm which has been done to it. Granite is



THYRA'S FONT AT SÖNDERHO.—II.

one of the hardest of stones. The font was again restored to favour, but it was used in its damaged condition, with the tradition attached to it which has already been stated. It is situated in the very place where a traveller coming from England would be wrecked. It is old enough to have been made at the time mentioned, *i.e.*, about 900. It bears evidence of having been wilfully damaged in a manner which would occur during a lapse from Christianity, such as occurred during the regn of Svein, so I think we may add this as a scintilla of additional evidence in favour of Thyra's being the daughter of Ethelred I. of England.

The *Danmarks Riges Historie* gives a choice of two solutions for the birth of Thyra, I should like to offer a third, and that is that Gorm the old had two wives, both of them named Thyra. The first was the daughter of Klak Harald, and the second the daughter of Ethelred of England. Some one will no doubt ask how did an English king's daughter come by such a Scandinavian name as Thyra; the answer is that Ethelred's mother was the daughter of the last of the princes of Möen, who were of Jutish descent.

There is no difficulty in Gorm's having two wives, in succession or even together, or even of the same name. The instance of Halfdan the Black, King of Norway, immediately recurs to memory.

We have seen that Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, could not for physical reasons have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth; but there is no great physical difficulty about Gorm, even at the age of over eighty, being his father when he married the young daughter of Ethelred of England, who would have been about twenty-eight years old.

In support of the suggestion I have made I may remark on the inscriptions on the two rune stones in Jellinge churchyard, a large one and a small one. The church lies between two immense tumuli. The northern one is called by tradition Thyra's grave, but by a

curious chance the smaller rune stone, which comes from the southern tumulus, is inscribed as follows: "Gorm made this monument in memory of his wife Thyra Danmarkarbót." It is generally stated that Thyra lived after Gorm, which this monument proves an error, unless there were two Thyras. The larger rune stone, which is said to have been always in the churchyard, tells us that Harald the king bade make this stone after Gorm his father and Thyra his mother, the Harald who conquered all Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian.

It is noticeable that Thyra is not called *Danmarkarbót* on the larger stone.¹ It seems to me that there must have been two Thyras—one who helped Gorm when he was conquering all the smaller kings, and a second Thyra who was the Thyra of his old age, who built the Danework, and who outlived him, and was the mother of Harald Bluetooth.

Photographs of Thyra's Font.—Photo I. represents the general appearance of the font, shewing that, with the exception of the broken parts, it is graceful in form, much more so than the twelfth century granite fonts. The uneven line on the left upper rim is due to its damaged condition. A piece has been broken off on the right upper corner of the photograph, but the greatest damage has been done in the lower left-hand corner, which place corresponds to a cross on the twelfth century font near Skuer in Jutland. High up on the left of Photo I. is a broken piece. This is shown on Photo II. in front view, and corresponds to a Runic inscription on the twelfth century font near Skuer.

¹ It may also be noticed that on the smaller stone the name is spelt *Thurin*, while on the larger it is *Thourin*.

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